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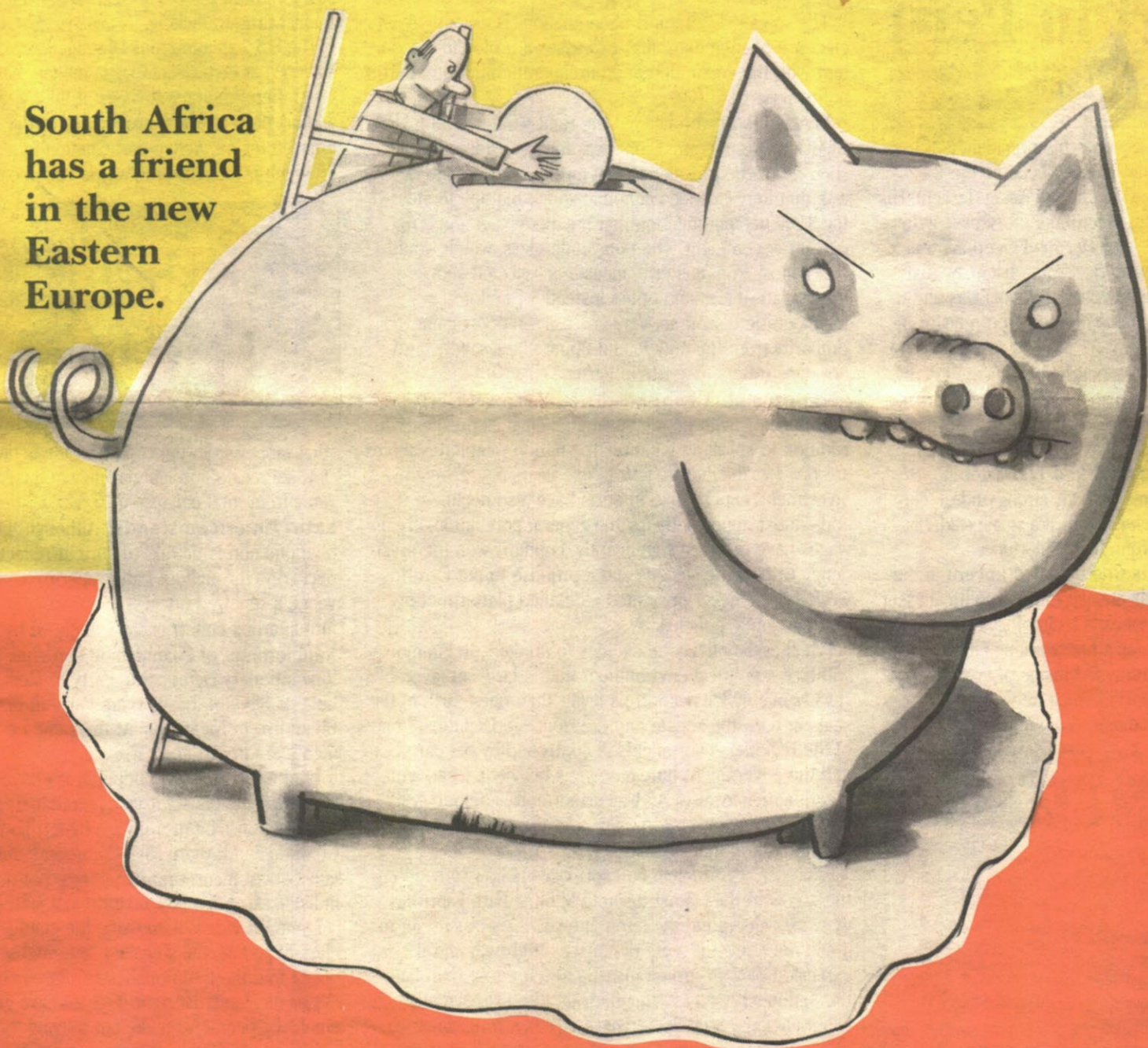
JULY 18-31, 1990

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## Investing in Apartheid

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Paul Hockenos and Jane Hunter report, page 9





Will Alberto Fujimori come through for Peru?

# Challenges await Fujimori in Peru

By Paul Little

LIMA, PERU

When Alberto Fujimori assumes the presidency of Peru on July 28, his 52nd birthday, he will become the Americas' first modern head of state of Asian descent. His convincing 61-to-39 percent electoral victory over writer Mario Vargas Llosa in the June 10 runoff elections was the culmination of a meteoric rise from obscurity. Just three months before the final vote, Fujimori was an unknown agronomist whose name did not even register in the pre-electoral polls.

Fujimori takes power in an apocalyptic moment in Peruvian history. In addition to the man-made crises of inflation, unemployment, poverty and war, Peru has recently experienced a series of earthquakes, avalanches, volcanic eruptions and a nationwide drought. Indeed, one factor in Fujimori's success can be traced to the strong Andean cultural trend toward messianism, in which a single leader is sought to save the people from their misfortune.

Born of Japanese parents who migrated to Peru in the '30s, Fujimori converted his ancestry into a political asset. His campaign slogan of "Honesty, technology, work" was strengthened by his image as a hardworking Oriental who was different from the stereotyped image of lazy, corrupt Peruvian politicians. Fujimori claimed he would bring Japanese investment and advanced technology to the

country as part of his new style of government. Despite the Japanese government's repeated denials that it would give special treatment to Peru, Japan's image as a rising international force was a potent factor behind the Fujimori victory.

Last fall Fujimori, who at the time was the rector of Lima's Agrarian University, formed a new independent political party called Change 90 and announced his candidacy for the presidency. With his limited personal finances he launched an unorthodox campaign that was noted for his visits to Lima's poor neighborhoods while riding a tractor and giving out free kilograms of potatoes. News of his candidacy spread rapidly by word of mouth in what Peruvians called *Radio Bemba*, or grapevine radio. His second-place finish in the first round qualified him for the runoff elections and stunned the Vargas Llosa campaign, which anticipated victory in the first round.

Another factor behind Fujimori's unprecedented rise was the near-unanimous support he received from Peru's evangelical Christian population, which now constitutes 15 percent of the nation's total population. The growth of evangelicals in Peru has been particularly strong among the poorest populations. Though Fujimori is a practicing Catholic, his second vice president—Peru has two—and many of Change 90's congressional candidates, are evangelicals.

The so-called "Fujimori phenomenon" is essentially an electoral phenomenon that expresses a profound discontent with the corruption and bureaucratic inertia of Peru's political parties.

Vargas Llosa, who headed the right-wing coalition FRE-DEMO, or Democratic Front, was long considered to be a shoo-in for the presidency. His message to the people was that Peru needed economic shock therapy to stem the 3,000 percent inflation that it experienced under the current government. The poor underclass, which would suffer most from austerity measures, rejected shock-therapy strategies and opted instead for Fujimori's technocratic discourse. Vargas Llosa's support came primarily from the middle and upper classes, which do not constitute a majority in Peru.

**Fujimori's challenge:** Peru's economic crisis will present Fujimori with his toughest challenge as president. In addition to spiraling inflation, the nation's capital reserves are one-fourth what they were five years ago. Foreign investment, exports and imports have also declined, and—most importantly for the general population—real wages have dropped significantly. Fujimori won the presidency with vague slogans and a promise to put Peru to work, but he never presented a detailed platform of his new economic policies.

Whichever policies he decides to implement, Fujimori will face a political environment that is far from favorable. His Change 90 Party controls fewer than one-fourth of the seats in both the Senate and the House of Deputies. None of the regional governments is controlled by his party, and the government bureaucracy is heavily packed with functionaries loyal to APRA. Furthermore, Fujimori will meet resistance from top officers in the armed forces if he attempts to limit their power.

Another key problem Fujimori faces is how to handle the war with the Maoist-inspired Shining Path guerrillas, who are celebrating the tenth anniversary of their call to arms. After several years of consistent growth and the extension of their armed insurrection to more than half the nation's provinces, the guerrilla force is currently experiencing a strategic crisis. There is strong evidence—although no one knows for certain what goes on within the Shining Path movement because of its highly secretive internal structure—that an internal division is emerging around a divergence of strategic options. The hardliners led by Abimael Guzmán, known as Presidente Gonzalo, maintain that the acts of sabotage and armed attacks against the government must continue as a means of "increasing the internal contradictions" within Peru's "bourgeois fascist state." A more moderate faction is arguing that this strategy has been unsuccessful in building a mass people's army and that Shining Path should concentrate its efforts on political organizing.

The division comes at a time when the guerrilla group has received two severe blows from the government's counterinsurgency campaign. A week before the final round of voting, Peruvian police raided Shining Path's

Lima headquarters and recovered documents that helped them find a series of clandestine houses in the capital city. Although none of the movement's top leaders was captured, it was the closest police have ever come to the guerrillas' center of power.

A second blow to the organization came at the hands of the military in its war against the nation's cocaine trade. Shining Path had established a stronghold of support in Peru's Hualaga Valley, the main source of the country's coca production. The guerrillas had been protecting coca farmers against attacks from the army in return for political and financial support. In mid-1989, however, Peruvian Gen. Alberto Arciniega changed the army's policy of repression of the coca farmers, arguing they were merely pawns of the more powerful drug kingpins. At the same time, the international price of coca dropped dramatically. These changes undercut the peasant support for Shining Path because they no longer needed protection from the army and no longer had the money to pay for it.

The U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) advocates an all-out war on coca growing, including the spraying of the toxic chemical "Spike"—which not only destroys coca plants but causes serious ecological and human side effects. The new Fujimori government will receive pressure from the U.S. to militarize even further the war against drug trafficking.

The U.S. has numerous DEA agents and helicopter pilots stationed at Peru's Santa Lucia military base and several Green Beret military advisers at the Mazamari police station, both of which are located in the coca-growing Amazon region. Active participation by the Peruvian government in the anti-drug war is complicated by the fact

## INSIDE STORY

that money from the cocaine trade is one of the country's few sources of foreign currency and is keeping the economy from total collapse.

**Latin American trends:** Although the Fujimori phenomenon is unique to Peru, it reflects larger trends occurring throughout Latin America. During the past two years, a renewed interest in electoral politics has emerged in numerous countries, as evidenced by the diverse electoral fortunes of Cuauhtémoc Cardenas of the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Party in Mexico, Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva of the Workers Party in Brazil, and Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua. At the same time, guerrilla movements are in a state of decline continentwide. Large sectors of Latin American populations have expressed weariness with the constant violence that surrounds armed insurrection. The disarming of guerrilla groups M-19 in Colombia and Alfaro Vive Carajo in Ecuador and their subsequent incorporation as legal political parties are indications of this new historic moment.

Latin America is witnessing the emergence of a new class of people, the so-called "informal sector," who do not fit into the traditional class analysis of the Marxist left or the capitalist right. This massive group of underemployed people who eke out a living through such activities as street selling, repairing goods and making products in home workshops, has a series of contradictory interests that are different from those of both the working class and the petty-bourgeois entrepreneurs. The size and importance of this class have grown immeasurably during the past decade, and it has become one of the predominant political forces in Peru.

This group of people is searching not only for a better life but also for its own identity within the context of a rapidly changing society. A new identity is emerging around the themes of hard work, marginality, honesty and the dream of making it to the top. Fujimori, the son of migrants who worked as small shopkeepers, has much in common with this group of people who for too long have been ignored by traditional political parties. **Paul Little** is a freelance writer based in Ecuador.

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

ON THE SECOND DAY OF WASHINGTON Mayor Marion Barry's trial, while the jury was being selected, a man in a tuxedo, a yellow rain slicker and dark sunglasses stood up in the back of the courtroom and held out his hand. "Excuse me," he said. "I'm from San Francisco, and this is cocaine and marijuana given to me by the federal government." Federal marshals dragged him out of the courtroom and booked him for drug possession. The Barry trial has been going downhill ever since.

The court proceedings have inspired new T-shirt logos ("Just Say 'Yo'") and bizarre headlines ("Tactical Error by Defense Led to Woman's Account of Forced Sex"), and have deepened the distrust between whites and blacks in the capital city. As the trial heads into its final weeks, political and legal issues have become hopelessly entangled, and the realities perceived by each racial group have sharply diverged.

**The 14 charges:** Even the nature of the charges against the mayor has been obscured. Most of the trial publicity has concerned the 14th charge—that Barry smoked crack cocaine with Rasheeda Moore last January during an FBI sting operation at Washington's Vista Hotel. But legally speaking, Barry could be acquitted of this charge and still be convicted of the 13 others, including the most serious one of lying to a grand jury.

Barry is charged with 11 counts of drug possession and three of perjury. Four of the 11 counts of drug possession also provide evidence that the mayor lied before the grand jury in January 1989 when he said he didn't know of former associate Charles Lewis' drug involvement and had never given drugs to Lewis or received any from him. The perjury charge carries a mandatory jail sentence; drug possession is a misdemeanor usually punishable by a fine.

Yet while the Vista Hotel charge has no relation to the perjury charge, the earlier possession charges could affect the hotel charge. To prove that Barry was not a victim of FBI entrapment, the prosecution has to show that he was predisposed to use drugs. If it can prove the earlier counts of cocaine possession, then it will have gone a long way toward legally demonstrating that Barry was predisposed and was not therefore entrapped.

The prosecution's strategy has been not only to establish the facts of its case but also to reduce the jury's sympathy for Barry by casting doubt upon his character. When provided an opening, the prosecution has explored the mayor's lechery and his willingness to exchange city contracts for sex and drugs.

Moore, for instance, testified that when she first began having an affair with the mayor in 1986, he arranged that she be given a \$180,000 grant for Project Me, a modeling program for teenagers. When, two years later, Moore refused Barry's demand for oral sex, he threatened to cut off funding for the program, which he subsequently did.

**Defense strategy:** The defense, led by Washington lawyer Kenneth Mundy, has focused largely on the Vista Hotel incident, attempting to show through it that the entire case against the mayor has been based upon FBI vindictiveness. Mundy appears to have successfully painted the Vista Hotel scene as entrapment. In his cross-examination of

City Paper/Barry Holmiker

Washington Mayor Marion Barry faces drug possession, perjury and a racially divided city.

## Sex, drugs and prosecution bring Barry to new lows

Moore, he pointed out seven instances in which Barry had either turned down or expressed no interest in taking drugs with her.

Mundy's other tactic has been to impugn the integrity of the witnesses that the government has presented. Like Moore and Lewis, most of these witnesses are either awaiting trial or sentencing themselves and have agreed to testify in order to win government leniency. In his opening statement, Mundy said the case rested upon "deals the government made with the devil." But the sheer number of witnesses that the government is putting on the witness stand and the sheer number of instances of Barry's alleged cocaine use—about 200 so far—may overwhelm Mundy's attempt to discredit the testimony of particular individuals.

The jury, though, has to be considered a plus for Barry's defense. It consists of 13 blacks and five whites, 15 women and three men. All were familiar with the publicity surrounding the case and, in a city dominated by Barry and the city government, several have personal connections to the mayor. One of the whites teaches at a prep school that the mayor's son attends. Two of the black women are D.C. public employees. And in preliminary questioning, two of the 18 jurors thought that race had played some role in Barry's prosecution.

**Public reaction:** For the most part, Washington's whites and blacks have been witnessing two entirely different trials. Whites have seen the mayor exposed as a crackhead, a lecher and a thoroughly corrupt and unprincipled politician. Blacks have seen the mayor as a victim of a white Republican conspiracy.

Indeed, both perceptions are based on a certain reality. The trial has revealed the depths to which Barry had plummeted. The mayor, as portrayed in the trial testimony, had become a man consumed with private pleasure and public power no matter what the consequences to the city or his family.

But the trial has also shown the government's unseemly zeal to nail Barry, even for a misdemeanor drug charge. The videotape of the Vista Hotel proved particularly inflammatory in the black community. In it Barry appeared far more interested in sex than in drugs, and Moore, acting on the FBI's behalf, appeared to be doing everything she could to get him to smoke cocaine.

Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson, a Reagan appointee, has reinforced the impression of a white conspiracy. When he barred two Barry supporters, Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan and Rev. George Stallings, from attending the trial, he seemed to be doing so because of their unsavory politics rather than any threat they posed within the courtroom. Many blacks see Jackson's move as a sign of his own prejudice against Barry.

Yet some black politicians and journalists have resisted the temptation to blame white Republicans for all of Barry's ills. One of the Democratic mayoral candidates, former utility executive Sharon Pratt Dixon, has called for Barry's resignation, and *Washington Post* reporter Juan Williams, who exposed the administration's corruption four years ago, insisted the tape was an indictment of Barry rather than of the government. "To watch a man in whom the beleaguered black community has invested so much ... stand with his hands against the wall ... muttering obsessively and egotistically that he was 'set up' by 'that bitch' is to witness how thoroughly black fears and hopes have been misused and manipulated."

Some in the black community dismiss Dixon as the voice of black bourgeoisie and Williams for his association with the hated *Washington Post*. But it is harder for them to discount the opinion of Lillian Wiggins, the columnist for *The Informer*, a pro-Barry black weekly. Writing after the videotape was shown in court, Wiggins criticized both the government and Barry. "I believe they went after a smoking gun, and in their efforts to

get that gun to fire they went too far," she wrote. "In the same vein, I do recognize that Barry had a responsibility to us as residents and to his family to do something about his condition before he became a national disgrace."

**The great divide:** The trial has shaken up black politics in the city of Washington. If one conceives of Northern black politics today as gravitating between New York Mayor David Dinkins' conciliatory social-democratic strategy and the polarizing nationalist strategy of Farrakhan, then the Barry trial has definitely moved Washington politics closer to the latter. But how close is an open question.

In the wake of the trial, some of Washington's black newsweeklies have been filled with the delusory rhetoric of black separatism. In the same issue of the *Capitol Spotlight* that attorney Mary Cox, the former chair of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in Virginia, expressed her conviction that the FBI was trying to murder Barry, columnist James Strong endorsed a new stage of racial conflict in America. "So far as I'm concerned, to relieve racial tensions and restore racial calm, Washingtonians need to engage in a good old-fashioned, blood-soaking race war," Strong wrote.

The Barry trial has also enhanced Farrakhan's popularity. Last month Farrakhan addressed standing-room-only crowds at the Washington convention center. Earlier he had indirectly criticized Barry for his drug habits, but as sympathy for the mayor mounted in the black community Farrakhan embraced him and urged him to run for reelection.

At the same time, Farrakhan promoted three NOI candidates that are running for office in D.C. and Maryland's neighboring Prince George County. Their politics combine constructive self-help projects with a twisted ideology that blends Garveyite separatism, classical anti-Semitism and Islamic asceticism. For instance, Farrakhan's national spokesman, Abdul Alim Muhammed, who is running for Congress in Prince George County, had earlier criticized Barry for "bowing down to Jews" (see *In These Times*, Feb. 28).

Yet it is not clear how black voters will respond to the Farrakhan candidates' platform. None of the mayoral candidates has endorsed or even approached Farrakhan-style nationalism. Except for Dixon, they have also tried to avoid making any comment on the Barry trial. They have kept their campaign speeches carefully focused on housing, taxes, and other bread-and-butter issues. The question with the mayoral candidates is not whether they will endorse a race war but whether they will perpetuate the corrupt city machine that Barry created.

Barring a miraculous showing by Farrakhan's candidates in the Sept. 11 Democratic primary, his style of nationalism will remain merely an undercurrent in Washington politics. But the pull of the current has definitely become stronger since the Barry trial.

**Barry's legacy:** The trial will tarnish Barry's record, but most of the damage was done earlier.

He was a heroic leader of the '60s civil-rights movement, and during his first term, from 1978 to 1982, he was an effective mayor. His decline afterward most resembles that

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By Joel Blum

**One White House, many gates**

The *Houston Post's* Pete Brewton continues to report on CIA and organized crime involvement in the failure of 25 federally insured financial institutions, the bailout of which will cost the taxpayers an estimated \$75 billion. Though this time the money trail leads straight to the White House door, the papers of record—the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*, upon which we must unfortunately depend to set the national agenda—continue to ignore the *Houston Post* series. Brewton's latest installment details the story of a solvent institution, the Palmer National Bank of Washington, D.C. Founded in 1983 by two men active in George Bush's failed 1980 presidential campaign, Palmer was the bank of choice for right-wing organizations and Republican officials. The National Conservative Political Action Committee borrowed more than \$400,000 from Palmer. It also lent money to PACs headed by Republicans Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas and former Rep. Jack Kemp of New York. And Palmer was one of the financial institutions where convicted Irangate felon Oliver North's contra-aid network stashed its cash. Palmer has assets of less than \$100 million, a surprisingly meager amount for a bank that occupies a modern 11-story building three blocks from the White House.

**Irangate:** Brewton reports that in February 1985, the contra-support organization National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty (NEPL) opened its first of four accounts at Palmer. In April 1986, NEPL transferred \$650,000 from one of those accounts to a Swiss bank account that North used to deal arms to Iran and thus fund the contras. NEPL was founded by the late Carl "Spitz" Channell, who died this year of pneumonia. This crack fundraiser brought in about \$10 million for the CIA's anti-Sandinista army, including \$5 million that Channell charmed out of two right-wing dowagers whom he code-named "Dog Face" and "Ham Hocks." As a token of NEPL's appreciation, large donors were able to meet privately with then-President Reagan. After the Iran-contra scandal broke, it was discovered that not all the NEPL money had reached the contras—some of it had been siphoned off for Channell's and his boyfriend's personal use. But Channell was not sentenced to two years' probation for this diversion of funds. (Contra dollars were used to purchase silk underwear and a condo, among other things.) He was convicted for helping the Reagan-Bush White House arm the contras at a time when Congress had outlawed such military support.

**A Halper hand:** Brewton reports that a former high-level Palmer employee told him that Channell established his NEPL accounts at Palmer with the help of Stefan Halper, one of the bank's two founders and a friend of North's. Halper was policy director of Bush's 1980 presidential campaign. Halper was connected to the intelligence community through his father-in-law, Ray Cline, a former CIA deputy director who also advised Bush during his 1980 campaign. The *Village Voice* reported in 1988, "Any inquiry into the 1980 Bush campaign would have to begin with Dr. Ray S. Cline. ... Cline boasted during the primaries that he intended to 'organize something like one of my old CIA staffs' to help Bush win."

**Debategate:** Well, Bush didn't win, but the Reagan-Bush ticket did. When Reagan named Bush as his running mate, Halper was brought on the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign by another former Bush campaign official, James Baker, current secretary of state. According to a 1983 story in the *New York Times*, Halper's role on the campaign was to gather intelligence on then-President Jimmy Carter's foreign-policy objectives. The *Times* reported that Halper was assisted by retired CIA officers and quoted an unnamed source in the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign as saying, "There was some CIA stuff coming from Halper, and some agency guys were hired." Halper was particularly interested in Carter's attempts to gain the release of the 52 American hostages held in Iran prior to the November election. (Hostagegate: It has been alleged that the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign cut a secret arms-for-hostages deal with the government of Iran to keep the hostages held in Iran until after the election to prevent Carter from benefiting from their pre-election release. See "In Short," June 24, 1987, Oct. 12, 1988, and "The First Stone," May 9 and 16). Halper's intelligence-gathering work during the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign apparently involved the theft of the Carter campaign's debate briefing books, a scandal that came to be known as Debategate. The Reagan-Bush campaign used these books to prepare its candidate for the 1980 presidential debates. The man in charge of the Reagan debate team was Baker, whose name has come up as a likely Republican candidate for president in 1996.



Scriptwriter and author Hanif Kureishi: concerned with the perils of not quite belonging.

**A bastard of history lost in Britain**

By Laura Flanders &amp; Anne D'Adesky

A smallish man with long black hair and pretty hands, Hanif Kureishi wears a pair of Levi's open at the tell-tale second button—the gay-boy easy-to-access look. His brown suede shoes are untied, knotted at the top, hip-hop B-boy style, and only the half-dozen preppy gold and silver pens in the pocket of his mustard-colored vest attest to the presence of a serious writer—the author of two groundbreaking films, *My Beautiful Laundrette* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*, and one novel, *The Buddha of Suburbia*.

The sound of some good band you hear in clubs but never know its name enlivens the thoughtfully furnished flat of Kureishi's New York agent on East 10th Street, and there he sits, perched on an antique couch looking characteristically not quite at home.

Born on Bromley, South London, in 1954 to an English mother and a Pakistani father, Kureishi concerns himself a lot with the perils of not quite belonging. "At least once every day since I was five years old I've been racially abused," he says. "It took me a long time to realize that my personal problems were political. When I started to write about being an Indian or half-Indian or whatever in Britain, these were stories that I had never been told. They were the stories that I wanted to read when I was 14 but weren't available to me."

Kureishi's first novel, *The Buddha of Suburbia*, published in May by Viking Books, is a story of confused identities, irreverent passions and troubled travelers in the world of a young Asian actor coming of age in pre-Thatcher London.

Kureishi denies that *The Buddha* is autobiographical, but as we talk he slips and confuses Hanif with Karim, the book's central character. Both have escaped dreary, deadening suburbs for the high-speed streets of the capital, and both have learned to embrace their fractured, Asian-British hybrid selves. "I'm mostly concerned about character," says Kureishi, "about what divided creatures we are all the time."

In *The Buddha*, Karim's father, tired of life as a civil servant with no chance of admission to a place on the Anglo career track, becomes a born-again Indian, exploiting to the full the white middle-class craving for all things mystical. He sits cross-legged in his lover's *House and Garden* home, lecturing to pin-striped types with loosened ties about the need to let their spiritual selves hold sway. As for son Karim, he says (and Kureishi writes), "If I wanted the additional personality bonus of an Indian past, I would have to create it."

Karim's father created a stereotypical Indian persona to get ahead in the Anglo world. According to Kureishi, this is something immigrants adopt in order to survive. "We're constantly having to



transform ourselves into certain sorts of objects ... sometimes stereotypical objects, in order to be seen at all by the host community. Otherwise they freak out ... they can't make sense of who we are at all."

**Desperate certainty:** Kureishi knows something about such freak-outs. His first screenplay, *My Beautiful Launderette*, puts Asian-British culture on the cinema's world map. The film features an Asian Londoner trying to plot a life for himself between the traditions of his Pakistani mafia uncle and his Nehru-style alcoholic father. The hero's love affair with an ex-skinhead British punk won the film a permanent place in gay archives but provoked vigorous controversy in the Asian-Moslem community.

When *Launderette* opened in New York in 1985, 200 Asians with picket signs marched outside the cinema on 72nd Street complaining that Kureishi was saying all Pakistanis were gay. With the perceptiveness of hindsight, one could say that Kureishi's experience foreshadowed the tragedy of *Satanic Verses* author Salman Rushdie, a close friend in whose defense Kureishi has spoken and written in the British press.

As far as Kureishi is concerned, religious fundamentalism and extreme nationalism are the ghettos of the socially insecure. "That kind of certainty is always a form of desperation. We are our most alive and responsive when we're flexible. That sort of desperate certainty comes from being lost in Britain."

Kureishi's celebration of ambivalence is exemplified in both his own and his characters' refusal to claim either homo- or heterosexuality, and their playful toying with the traditions of India and the Empire. But it is also problematic.

Bina Sharif, a Pakistani-born writer and performer who has lived the last 14 years in the U.S., interviewed Kureishi after his second film. "Kureishi's life was different from mine," she says. "He was born in London and is very successful. I was not born here, and I'm not that successful in monetary terms." She told Kureishi of the anguish she feels about being from somewhere else. He said he did not relate to that, since when one accepts oneself as a citizen of the new country one is happy. "That did not make me feel good," says Sharif, who complains that Kureishi's comment puts the onus on immigrants to accept their lot rather than on the host society to change.

The British edition of *Elle* magazine has come down hard on Kureishi's trendy radicalism: "He is the saint of the generation that won their plate-glass degrees in the '70s and who—no matter how keenly they embraced the compromising materialism of the next decade—lived in the golden age of punk." Perhaps *Elle* is right. There is something aggravating about Kureishi's ability to meld radical politics and commercial success. At election time, Kureishi still leaflets for the Labour Party in his local public-housing estate—then he writes about it for *Granta* magazine. But his lifestyle is consistent with his work: Kureishi simply rejects orthodoxy—be it of the left or the right or the puritanical middle of the road.

**A brave new world:** The goal, as Kureishi sees it, is to stop attempting to fit cultural, national or social expectations and to change those expectations to suit the world we actually inhabit. "Society is much more composed of one-parent families, of black people, of gay people, disabled people ... instead of straight, white, middle-class men," he says. "It's just that under Thatcherism we've been forced to look at the healthy, white, middle-class family as what we should aspire to."

Through his screenwriting, Kureishi challenges viewers to examine their expectations by presenting a world that strays from that sanctioned by the dominant society. In *Launderette*, he depicts the love affair between the two main characters matter-

of-factly. "I grew up in the '70s, and it was a very important time for people defining themselves in all sorts of ways—the women's movement, the black movement, the gay movement were all very strong. With *Launderette*, it seemed to me more progressive not to mention it at all, just to have the two boys fall in love and to take it for granted that they were in the world."

Not as commercially successful as *Launderette*, *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* became a favorite in progressive circles for its courage to tackle sexual and racial politics in an unashamed, polemical style. In the years between the release of his two films the AIDS crisis had kindled a reactionary assault against sexuality. Understatement was no longer enough of a statement. Says Kureishi, "The [split-screen] central scene in *Sammy and Rosie*, the fuck sandwich, was a direct result of things that were being said in response to AIDS—which were that you should give up fucking and therefore your sexuality because of AIDS. [The conservatives] were using AIDS as an excuse to make you conform, and I wanted to have this wonderful scene of these people fucking freely, with people dancing and singing and saying that despite AIDS we're not going to conform, we're not going to give up our sexuality and our lives. We have to fight AIDS, we have to fight conservatism, we have to fight for our right to define our sexuality as we want it—all at the same time."

"It was a brave film," said Leon Falk, the film's U.S. producer. "So it's no surprise the critics slammed it." Even the title got Kureishi into trouble; most listings abbreviated it to *Sammy and Rosie*...

**"A bastard of history":** Kureishi has been criticized for his portrayals of women. In both the films and in the book the women tend to be either radical lesbian heroines, old-world witch women who are abused by Western culture, or upper-middle-class white women having affairs with upper-middle-class Asian men. Kureishi explains that his upbringing in a Westernized yet Moslem family limited his interactions with women. Later, when coming of age in the '70s, he was both in awe of and alienated from the women's movement. "Suddenly I was with these women who were examining their society and their sexuality in this incredibly dynamic and scrupulous way. They seemed more interesting and deeper than men were because they were looking at their place in the world in a way we never did. We took our place in the world for granted. They seemed more powerful and deeper because of that, but it was never something I was able to get incredibly close to. And perhaps that's why [my female] characters seem rather serious and one-dimensional."

Guvinder Chada, director of *I'm British But...*, a new movie about Asian-British Bhangra music, says that despite his portrayal of women, Kureishi was the first to tackle his subject. "We just don't have the tradition you have here in the U.S. [of so-called minority writers]," she says. "In Britain, we're just beginning, and he began."

Salman Rushdie recently wrote in a pamphlet titled *In Good Faith*, "Melange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world. It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world." Like Rushdie, Kureishi would probably agree that he is, as Rushdie puts it, "a bastard of history." He writes his world. "Like someone who describes their village, you look at what's going on around you and you try to map it," says Kureishi.

"If that gets people asking questions about what it is to be gay and how relationships are formed by being black or being white or being working class or whatever, then that's great."

And that's plenty. □

Laura Flanders and Anne D'Adesky are New York-based writers.

**A bank is born:** After the 1980 election, the Reagan administration appointed Halper deputy director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, the division of the State Department responsible for international weapons-trading and military exercises overseas. Brewton reports that Halper left the State Department in 1983 to become chairman of Palmer National Bank. Halper founded Palmer with Harvey McLean Jr., a man he had met during the 1980 Bush campaign. The *New York Times* has described McLean as "a Dallas real-estate developer who was Southern finance chairman for George Bush's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1980." Halper and McLean came up with their idea for Palmer National Bank during a State Department business trip to Southeast Asia on which McLean accompanied Halper. Halper told Brewton the following story: "Somewhere over the Pacific, we got into a conversation about banking. Now, mind you, I had never been a banker. I was one of those guys who had a checking account with \$71.38 in it, and banks frightened me a little bit. But Harvey said, 'Well, got to have a good bank in Washington.' He was sort of bemoaning the fact that banks were not as strong or responsive as they should be. And as the conversation unfolded, he basically said, 'Look, if you'll create the bank, I'll put up the money.'" McLean certainly had access to money at that time. Brewton reports that McLean owned Paris Savings and Loan of Paris, Texas. During the '80s McLean also borrowed more than \$38 million from three other S&Ls—Vernon Savings and Independent American Savings in Dallas and Continental Savings in Houston. All four later failed, and the latter three are included on Brewton's list of failed S&Ls that had links to the mob and the CIA. In 1989 federal receivers placed McLean in involuntary bankruptcy.

**S&Lgate:** Brewton reports that when Palmer National Bank was founded, it was not McLean who put up the money but Herman K. Beebe Sr., a shadowy Louisiana organized-crime figure who was a close friend and business associate of McLean. Brewton reports that Beebe has numerous connections to New Orleans Mafia boss Carlos Marcello, associations with Mafia families in New York and California and links to the Teamsters. In 1983 Beebe loaned McLean and Halper \$2.8 million from his Bossier Bank and Trust in Shreveport, La. This loan provided the majority of the money that was used to initially capitalize Palmer. A 1985 report by the comptroller of the currency listed Palmer as one of 12 national banks that Beebe has possible influence or control over. Further, Beebe has been implicated in the failure of at least 12 savings and loans (including Vernon Savings in Dallas and Continental Savings in Houston). In April 1985, just after Beebe had been convicted of defrauding the Small Business Administration and two months before the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation shut down Bossier, the \$2.8 million loan from Bossier that established Palmer was transferred to San Jacinto Savings of Beaumont, Texas.

**Going, going ...:** San Jacinto, a subsidiary of the Dallas-based real-estate investment firm Southmark Funding, is now on the verge of collapse. When San Jacinto topples, federal regulators say its bailout could cost taxpayers more than the estimated \$2 billion that was paid to bail out Charles Keating's Lincoln Savings of Irvine, Calif., which currently holds the honor of being the most expensive S&L failure. Brewton reports that in September 1988 an S&L regulator in Dallas wrote to Darrel Dochow, a federal bank regulator, expressing concerns about the "significant number and volume" of loans between Silverado Savings of Denver (Neil Bush's failed S&L) and M.D.C. Holdings of Denver (owned by Colorado GOP fundraiser Larry Miesel) and between San Jacinto Savings of Houston and Lincoln Savings of Irvine, Calif. The regulator also said he was concerned about "the apparent shifting of such loans among those institutions."

**Another Halper hand:** Brewton reports that Halper left his position as chairman of Palmer early in 1985 to become chairman of National Bank of Northern Virginia. Halper, however, did not sever his ties with his friend Oliver North. In the last entry of North's diary—dated Nov. 25, 1986, the day that the lieutenant colonel was fired by the president he had served so faithfully—North wrote "Legal Defense Fund—Stefan Halper, Chris Lehman [a Halper associate]." As Halper told Brewton, "We got trustees and put it in place."

## What's in a name

The following acronymic ranting is a work by Brian Zick, who paints pictures for a living at his home on the edge of Hollywood.

Clouseau Imitation Award	Convolted Implausible Alibi	Cultivated Instability Achieved
Credibility Isn't American	Cold-war Intentionally Aggravated	Congenital Insatiable Avarice
Collusion Insures Amnesty	Clowns Implementing Armageddon	Congressional Intimidation Artists
Certifiably Insane Agenda	Cryptic Incoherence Articulated	Constitution Infringement Authority
Cocaine Import Associates	Constantly Incorrect Analysis	Citizens Intelligence Assaulted
Credit Institutions Acquired	Concoct Incredible Antipathy	Coverup Is Automatic



## Money talks, death squads walk

Last November, a former Salvadoran intelligence officer claimed that his hit squad was financed by the U.S. military. Cesar Vielman Joya Martinez, who defected to the U.S. last September, was employed to kill prisoners, mask the army's involvement in the murders and then dispose of the bodies, reported David Bates (see *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1989). While the U.S. officers, who wrote checks for his unit's rent and operating expenses, "did not want to hear" of the killings, they must have known about them, says Martinez. But as Congress debates over foreign aid for fiscal 1991, it is ignoring Martinez' claims, while the Bush administration aims to discredit him and return him to El Salvador, reports Gregory Grandin. The Immigration and Naturalization Service also has sought to block Martinez' appeal for asylum, and the Justice Department has indicted him on the grounds that he illegally entered the U.S.

## Good to the last empty shelf

The Salvadoran coffee revenue-war funding connection got a boost last month when Red Apple, New York's largest grocery chain, announced it would stop buying Folgers coffee for 60 days. Red Apple is the first major food store chain to honor the international boycott of Salvadoran coffee, launched last November following the Salvadoran government's murder of six Jesuit priests and their female co-workers. Coffee revenues of \$300 million to \$400 million a year follow U.S. tax aid as the major source of Salvadoran death-squad funding, says Neighbor to Neighbor, the organization at the helm of the boycott, and more than 50 percent of Salvadoran coffee is sold in the U.S. in major coffee blends such as Folgers. As part of its boycott agreement, Red Apple will cease advertising Folgers and display literature linking the coffee to death squads.

## Thinking globally, acting corporately

Corporate entities who have advertised that, for them, "Every Day is Earth Day," reports Greenpeace: Phelps Dodge, copper and uranium mining company; America Forest Council, trade association for major logging and paper companies; Chevron Corporation, major oil company; U.S. Council on Energy Awareness, pro-nuclear lobbying group; Webster Corporation, manufacturer of GoodSense "biodegradable" trash bags; and American Cattlemen's Association, beef promoters.

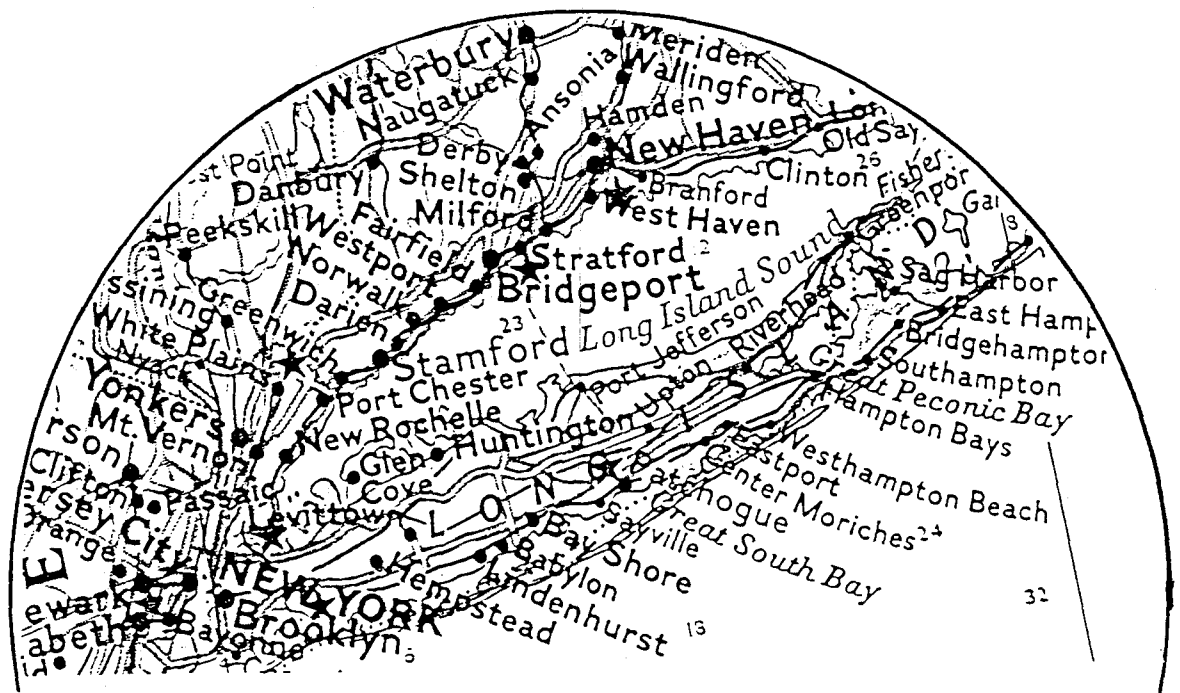
## Broadcast coups

While no one knows how many Cubans are able to receive the U.S. government-sponsored TV Marti (see *In These Times*, May 23), the House overwhelmingly rejected an attempt on June 20 to slash funding of the broadcast of democratic enlightenment that currently carries a \$16 million annual price tag. Fidel Castro claims he has effectively jammed TV Marti's signal, which beams to Havana two daily newscasts and programming such as *Kate and Allie* and *Que Pasa USA*, the saga of a Cuban-American family adapting to life in Miami. The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) opposes TV Marti because it fears Castro's threat of retaliation by interfering with U.S. AM radio stations, two of which have already reported transmission problems. Speaking at the NAB's annual convention earlier this year, President Bush asked the group to change its position. "I ask you once again to stand for TV Marti," said Bush, "to stand for freedom."

## ITT stumps Trump

While presses all across the U.S. had their eyes on Ivana Trump's divorce prize, *In These Times* was predicting deep trouble for Donald. "Although the news hasn't yet reached the tabloids, the man with the Midas touch is running into financial turbulence over and above the millions being demanded by his wife," wrote Daniel Lazare (see *In These Times*, February 28). "Financial leverage—i.e., using other people's money—is what propelled Trump into the economic ionosphere back when he was just a mildly rich kid from the boroughs. In the early '90s, leverage—this time in the form of excessive debt—could be what yanks him down to Earth faster than you can say 'Drexel Burnham.'" *People* magazine, eat your heart out.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.



## A progressive coalition that survived the '80s

The decade of the '80s was difficult. Progressives struggled just to hold ground; victories meant maintaining the status quo. The Long Island Progressive Coalition (LIPC), however, managed to grow in size and influence—a local success story in the midst of this reactionary period.

The LIPC, made up of more than 60 sponsoring organizations, has recently formally affiliated with Citizen Action. Its mission is "to provide the organized vehicle by means of which progressive projects can effectively intervene to determine the direction of public policy" and "to transform progressive issues into effective movements for systemic social change," says LIPC Chairman David Sprintzen, also a member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

The coalition was given its send-off in 1979 by former International Machinist President William Winpisinger and DSA founder Michael Harrington. The LIPC is still guided by the pro-labor, democratic-socialist and coalitional emphasis shared by these two activists.

The LIPC owes its success in part to its implementation of the slogan too often glibly promoted: "Think Globally, Act Locally." By making explicit the connection between local areas and entire regions, the LIPC has flourished. "[Long] Island is deeply divided, and few see themselves as having a stake in the island as a whole," says LIPC Director Warren Goldstein, adding that "the goal of the coalition is to try to strengthen and focus the many progressive sentiments on the island that are currently fragmented along geographic and issue lines."

By grounding their projects locally, the LIPC has been able to in-

volve large numbers of people and influence policies and programs throughout Long Island. Marge Harrison, one of the founders of the coalition and current vice chair of the New York State Democratic Party, credits the LIPC's success to its focus on organizing around local issues.

The coalition makes geographic connections by explicitly noting the links between such issues as the economy and the environment; labor and religion; energy and the economy. They have succeeded in building what Sprintzen calls a "non-electoral, multi-issue political party." Although they are well-respected for their electoral work, electoral activities make up only a small part of the LIPC's broad agenda. The Center for Workers' Rights, the Environmental Network, the Labor-Religion coalition, the Long Island Network for Peace in Central America, the Long Island Fuel Energy Group and the Long Island Public Power Project are among the coalition's other projects.

The Long Island Public Power Project began as a struggle against rate increases at Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO) and the economic and environmental dangers posed by the Shoreham nuclear power plant. Although the public power legislation that developed as a result of the project was defeated, Shoreham has since been forced to close. The project raised awareness of environmental issues and the economic impact of energy production and distribution through programs of public education, community organizing and lobbying, as well as through its role as "watchdog." The labor movement was involved with the coalition in formulating its position on these public power issues, ensuring labor's support.

The two goals of the Environmental Leaders Network are to

broaden environmental concerns from specific areas or communities to islandwide issues and to provide a network for those working on environmental problems through an electronic bulletin board. The emphasis of the network is to promote islandwide recycling that is less toxic and less expensive than other available alternatives. As Goldstein claims, "In order to solve the environmental crisis of Long Island, a left perspective that links the environment with such issues as the transportation structure or with economic development is needed. The coalition provides those links." (Many LIPC members see the environment as one of its major focuses for the future.)

The Center for Workers Rights is a multifaceted project that provides legal counseling, advocacy referral and worker and community education. The center's involvement in discrimination cases is of particular importance in the current climate of heightened anti-worker and anti-immigrant sentiments.

While a locally based strategy cannot be substituted for a national one—since local efforts are limited by fiscal and political constraints and shifting local circumstances—there is a lot to be learned from the successful efforts of the LIPC. At a time when the ability to advance a progressive program nationally has been stalled, local efforts can help promote values of solidarity and justice, counter conservative and unjust policies and supplement—or influence—national programs. The coalition's strategy—linking constituencies, regions and issues, inside and outside the electoral arena—could be employed in building a broad-based national progressive movement.

The U.S. has had enough of the trickle-down theory; let's see what can percolate up. —Sherri Levine



By Lois Fuller

## U.S. Forest Service pays lip service to conservation

**I**N RECENT YEARS, CONSERVATIONISTS, RECREATIONISTS, ranchers, environmental groups and others have increasingly opposed U.S. Forest Service policies. Although "dispersed clearcutting"—a timber harvesting method in which trees are removed in 20- to 40-acre tracts—is the primary complaint, others include destruction of cultural resources, the mining of old-growth and ancient forests and a lack of concern for biodiversity.

According to Mary Kelly, director of the Western North Carolina Alliance, the Forest Service's own data for North Carolina's Nantahala and Pisgah national forests show that recreation and wildlife provide a much greater benefit to the public than timber cutting and all other resource production. Why then, she wonders, does the current 10-year forest management plan (under appeal since 1986) call for 500 miles of new, gated logging roads and not one new campground facility?

The Forest Service's decisionmakers claim to be caught between environmental interests and those of the timber industry. But, according to Kelly, it is the Forest Service's "commodity resource extraction mentality that overrides everything else the forests are supposed to provide. The public's forests should be more than tree farms, and the public is demanding that they be managed for habitat, for wildlife, for rare and endangered species—for distinctive values that aren't available on private lands."

Current logging practices so consistently conflict with the maintainance of other resources that the Forest Service, which continues to operate at an annual deficit of at least \$1 billion, must constantly battle (and often lose) a barrage of legal suits mainly stemming from erosion and habitat destruction. "There are many documented cases of [the Forest Service] losing legal cases for destroying trout streams and some of the last of the grizzly [bear] habitats, for desecration of scenery, for destroying the ancient forests of the Northwest and for endangering the black bear habitat," says Kelly.

The number of legal appeals and lawsuits has increased drastically since the early '80s, according to the Wilderness Society's Peter Kirby. He estimates that there are now about 1,000 administrative appeals of local and regional decisions concerning road plans and timber sales each year.

Additional legal action against the Forest Service stems from the appeals of forest plans that describe how national lands will be managed for timber, grazing, recreation and resources such as soil, water, fish and wildlife. "When the Forest Service completes them all, there will be about 125 plans for the various forests," says Kirby. "As of now 115 are complete, although they were all to have been completed by about 1985. Of these 115, 110 have been appealed. That gives you a flavor of how dissatisfied citizen's groups are with the Forest Service."

The number of conventional lawsuits—now averaging about 30 per year—also has increased considerably. In the past such courtroom battles were quietly waged by large environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society. But now smaller local organizations are stepping up their legal attacks. They are also taking their demands into the streets, the logging headquarters and the offices of Forest Service

superintendents.

The June 22 Fish and Wildlife Service decision to give threatened-species status to the spotted owl has considerably heated the debate between environmentalists and timber-extraction proponents in the Northwest. Loggers and their families have staged several protests alleging that the decision discounts their need to protect jobs and communities, some of which resemble ghost towns already.

The owl—one of 200 species threatened by the demise of the ancient forests—requires large areas of old-growth forest habitat, and the Wildlife Service's decision will theoretically preserve up to half the public and private acreage available in the Northwest for timber extraction. In the wake of the decision, pro-timber activists claimed that as many as 20,000 jobs could be cut during the next 10 years. But environmentalists are standing firm on preserving the forests and don't foresee an actual reduction in logging, since enforcement of such decisions is weak.

While Forest Service administrators claim their logging practices are justified, they also claim to set policies according to public desire. They argue that timber stands in the forests of North Carolina were weakened early in the century by poor forestry practices and that timber grown after the current harvests will be more productive and profitable. They add that today's high costs of logging (which cause timber sales to fall below cost) mainly result from road building to enhance recreational use of the forests.

The goal of clearcutting is twofold: to quickly sell off a large quantity of timber and to replace the mixed forest with even-aged stands of commercially preferred species of trees. Environmentalists say clearcutting increases erosion, degrades water quality, reduces wildlife habitat and leaves an ugly landscape of stumps and ruffled underbrush. They particularly question the wisdom of planting even-aged trees in place of an ecologically diverse range of species and ages.

"The Forest Service has in almost no cases shown that clearcutting is the optimum [logging] method," says Leon Minckler, a 33-year veteran of the Forest Service. "It might be optimum for the logger—it's not optimum for the forest."

Minckler, an environmental forestry consultant, has conducted research that helped citizens in Illinois create a management plan for the Shawnee National Forest based on group selection—cutting only selected trees in a 20- to 40-acre area. This is the only forest in the country where clearcutting has been extensively limited.

**Reforming the forests:** At the recent fifth annual Forest Reform Network conference in North Carolina, 200 participants with matching litanies of complaints determined it was time to attack the U.S. Forest Service in an organized nationwide effort.

Arthur Cooper, head of the Department of Forest Resources at North Carolina State University, reminded the group, representing 18 states, of the great changes already made in the forestry profession in the last

four or five years. He pointed out the profession's increased emphasis on environmental ethics, public education and public concern and maintains that professionals in and outside the Forest Service are learning to consider the forest more as an ecological entity, valuing its amenities outside of the timber industry. "The profession views the challenge from the environmentalists as a very serious challenge and is attempting to respond to it," said Cooper.

But Kelly disagrees. She says the Forest Service tries to pit users and industry against each other, claiming to want to satisfy both. "The Forest Service folks really have been in bed with the industry for at least 20 years," she adds.

Jeff DeBonis, founder of the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics, wants to reform the value system of the Forest Service—to change the agency's goals from the promotion of commodity output to ecologically and economically sustainable methods. In DeBonis' terms, this means shifting the ecological burden of proof from the environmentalists to the Forest Service. (Currently the Forest Service can effectively block proposed restrictions by insisting that environmentalists prove the service's practices to be harmful.)

"If we are to continue developing, harvesting, building roads, mining and grazing on our public lands, this is the bottom line for us: zero tolerance for additional decreases in biodiversity; zero tolerance for additional increases in non-sustainable practices; zero tolerance for additional sedimentation into our watersheds; zero tolerance for additional loss of wildlife and fish habitat. Zero tolerance for additional degradation, period."

**Greenbacks for green matter:** Randall O'Toole, an economist with Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants in Portland, Ore., says efforts to stop clearcutting and to alter legislation and value systems are treating the symptoms of environmental degradation of public land rather than the cause. "It's like treating a patient suffering from pneumonia with sore-throat medication," says O'Toole. "The cause is a poorly designed budgetary process that rewards managers for losing money on timber sales rather than for emphasizing recreation, wildlife and watersheds." O'Toole likens the economics of the U.S. Forest Service to the "way the Soviet Union runs its whole economy."

O'Toole, who has reviewed and analyzed more than 70 Forest Service plans, estimates his proposals to market the resources of the national forests could save taxpayers \$2.5 billion per year and more than double the Forest Service's budgets for recreation and wildlife. O'Toole would like to see the nation's public lands run like a successful business, whereby managers would be rewarded for a positive income rather than for selling timber at below cost. "By changing the incentives, you change the cause of the problems," he says.

"Tax dollars go to projects of the highest political value," argues O'Toole in his book, *Reforming the Forest Service*. "Since politi-

cians get kudos for saving jobs and since more jobs are currently obtained through low-cost timber sales than through recreation, the timber sales have more political value."

A pro-timber mindset, an obstinate national bureaucracy and a congressional appropriations process well attended by timber-industry lobbyists would all become extinct under O'Toole's plan, as would the cutting of pristine and ancient forests and other degrading practices such as clearcutting—a costly method not affordable without tax subsidies through below-cost timber sales. Following is a summation of O'Toole's proposal:

- End all government subsidies to the timber industry.

- Begin a system of user fees to support forest lands in place of public land tax appropriations. Under such a system, most forests would get more money from recreation than from logging, and users wanting

## ENVIRONMENT

to swim, camp, hike, fish and bird would "outbid" timber demand for forest resources. "This way, you get what you pay for, whereas with taxes, someone else gets what you pay for," says O'Toole.

- Since the demands for recreational use would not eliminate the possibility of biodiversity loss, conservation and other groups could purchase conservation easements. These easements, along with a biodiversity tax of up to 10 percent of all fees, would pay scientists and train field personnel in the protection of public lands.

O'Toole estimates his economic solution could cost the nation 40,000 jobs at most—a "drop in the bucket" when measured against the national economy. "If we took some of that \$2.5 billion [saved by ending timber subsidies] and spent it on training, relocating and other compensation, we could spend as much as \$100,000 per job and pay that off in two years." O'Toole prefers this method over increasing tax expenditures for job compensation, a solution suggested by other forest reformers.

One big problem forest reformers face is the jobs-at-any-cost posture of mill owners. Either the timber industrialists are allowed to continue completely unrestricted, say the owners, or they must shut down their operations in whatever national forest they are cutting and great numbers of local people will be out of work.

Brock Evans of the National Audubon Society likens the destruction of the nation's last few acres of ancient forest to blowing up medieval cathedrals. "There are lots of jobs in blowing up cathedrals, and real high-paying jobs, too. Blowing them up takes lots of skilled labor: carting off the stones, selling the lead window panes, the furniture, the statues, the paintings on the wall. Lots of money in all that. And you could blow up Chartres this week, Canterbury next week and Rouen next week and York, and so on. And then you could start on Monticello and Mount Vernon. Blow them up too. Lots of good paying jobs.

"But in the end, guess what folks? We ain't got no more cathedrals, and we ain't got no more jobs."

Lois Fuller is a freelance writer based in North Carolina.



By David Moberg

**H**ERE'S A PROPOSITION THAT NEARLY EVERYONE from left to right endorses: if the U.S. is going to prosper in coming decades, its workers—new and old—must be far better educated.

Beyond that point, unity disappears.

There is a common belief that jobs in the emerging "post-industrial" service economy will demand much more skill and education. And so, the prevailing wisdom goes, because

## LABOR

of an impending labor shortage, even currently disadvantaged workers will likely find better jobs. The flip side is that employers worry they'll have to hire more minority or ill-trained workers.

"Workforce 2000," a 1987 study prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor by the Hudson Institute, concluded that 30 percent of the jobs created between 1984 and 2000 would require a college degree, compared to 22 percent of jobs in 1984. The same study also claimed U.S.-born white males would make up only 15 percent of new workers in 2000, compared to 47 percent in 1985.

But in a recent report prepared for the Economic Policy Institute, economist Lawrence Mishel and sociologist Ruy A. Teixeira conclude that the economy itself is not generating a "job-skills explosion," and that even a slowdown in the labor-force growth rate may not create the predicted labor shortage. Many economists argue that if living standards are to rise, the U.S. must pursue an economic strategy that emphasizes skilled, creative labor.

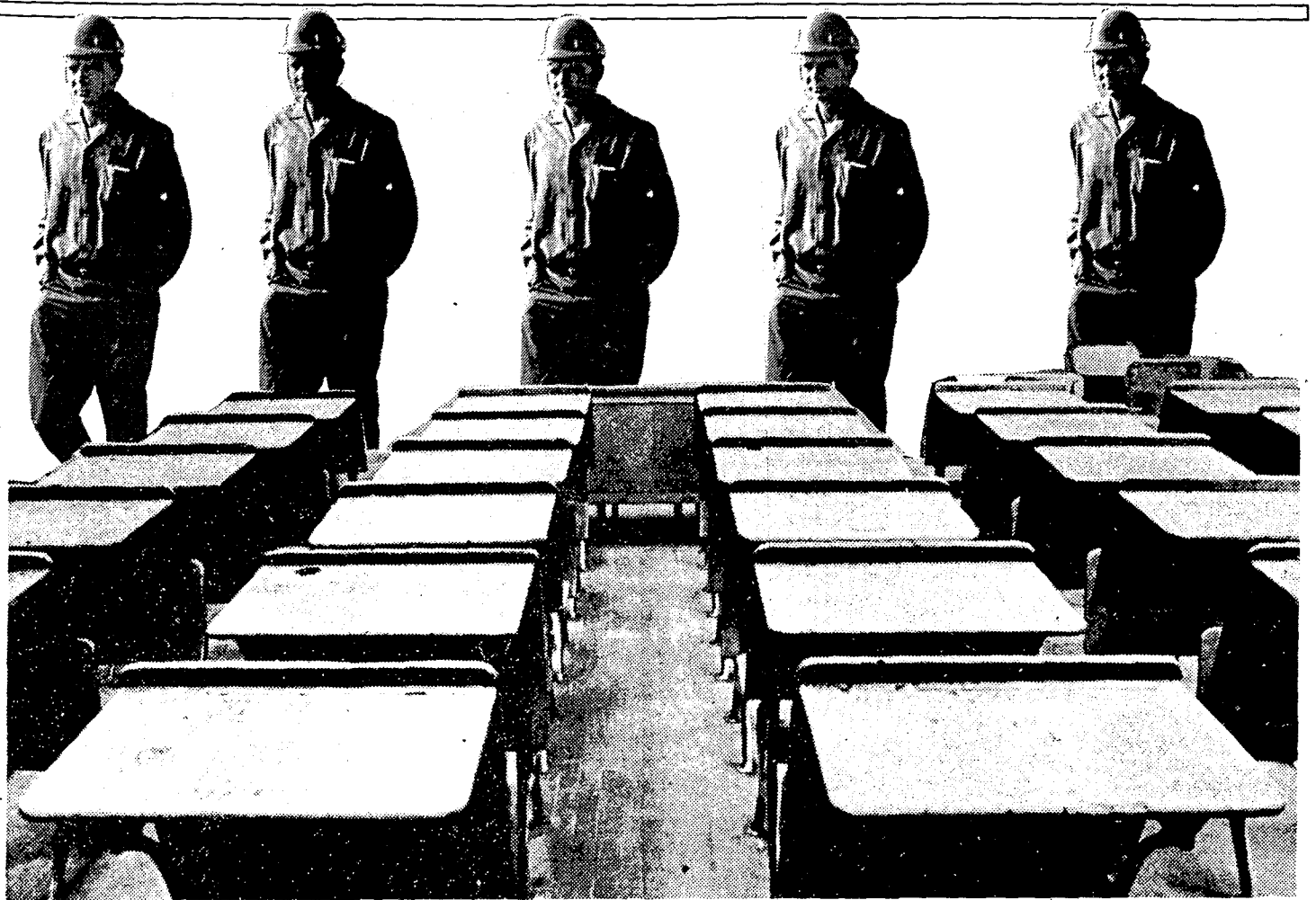
Mishel and Teixeira report that although some of the fastest-growing jobs will require more skill, the overall mix of occupations projected to evolve by 2000 by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics will change little: 10 years from now, workers on average will need only about .04 more years of school. Many workers will also find that although they are more skilled, they will make no measurable wage gains because of rapidly growing lower-wage industries.

**Over the college edge:** During the past decade the monetary advantage of a college education has grown, fueling the conviction that there's a hot market for scarce, well-educated workers. But Mishel and Teixeira say the rise in the college edge mainly reflects slowing growth in the supply of college graduates and losses to less-educated workers because of shifts to lower-paid industries and a decline of unionization. Also, since the '60s the rate of increase in job complexity has declined sharply, hardly an indication of a looming skills explosion. But there is a rising threshold of basic math and reading requirements for even the low-skill jobs.

Skills often decline even with more complex technology, as Harry Braverman argued in his 1974 classic treatise, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. Whether skills expand as technology becomes more sophisticated often depends on what strategy management pursues. Management may choose to "deskilling," or simplify, work to minimize both its reliance on workers and their power, or it may choose to train workers to have broader skills (for example, programming computers that run machines). U.S. business, more than its European competitors, has emphasized deskilling.

Citing European experiences with slow labor-force growth yet high joblessness in the '80s, Mishel and Teixeira emphasize that

1990 Terry LaBan



## Reading, writing and no economic salvation

slower growth of the labor force will not automatically reduce unemployment in the U.S. In any case, although minorities will constitute a bigger share of the new workforce, they say white non-Hispanic men and women will still comprise two-thirds of the increase in the labor force. There should be plenty of skilled workers, but those who raise their skill levels will probably not raise their wages much, if any.

One implication of Mishel and Teixeira's projections is that even if the country produced many more well-educated workers, it would not reap the potential gains in productivity unless U.S. business changes drastically. Economist Edward Denison concluded that from 1929 to 1982, learning on the job contributed about 55 percent of improvements in the nation's productivity, compared to about 26 percent from pre-employment schooling. Informal job progressions and apprenticeships have since largely disappeared.

**Mission unaccomplished:** U.S. businesses today provide far less on-the-job training than their Japanese and European competitors, and what training they offer is concentrated on middle management. (In one survey, 60 percent of firms reported courses for managers, but only 18 percent offered anything for non-managers.) About 40 percent of the adult population of Sweden is enrolled in some education or training program, with a result that, a London School of Economics study concluded, Sweden is the most economically adaptable major industrial country and the U.S. the least. Schools in this country are clearly failing their mission: one-fifth of young American adults can't read at even an eighth-grade level. But business is also failing to educate as it should, in part because of its hostility or indifference to workers.

In recent testimony before Congress, the Government Accounting Office concluded

that non-college-educated workers are far worse prepared in the U.S. than in Germany, Japan, Sweden and Britain because U.S. schools, unlike schools in those countries, do not expect a high success rates among their students. In addition, these governments insure that schools and businesses work together to aid the students' transition into the workforce, establish national standards of trade-skill competency (not just course completion), and invest more in post-school training.

But job training in the U.S. lacks more than money. Paul Osterman, a professor at MIT's Sloan School of Management, argued in a

**Even if the country produced many more well-educated workers, it would not reap the potential gains in productivity unless U.S. businesses change drastically.**

1988 report written for the Economic Policy Institute that U.S. job training is fragmented and so stigmatized as an extension of welfare that employers discriminate against graduates of many job-training programs. Only a comprehensive training system, perhaps a modification of the famed German system providing three years of formal schooling combined with on-the-job apprenticeship for all non-university youth, could have enough prestige and significance to make employers take it seriously. Expanding and improving job training to cover most young people—not just poor or problem students—would better help those poorest youth succeed in the job market.

In another recent report from the Economic Policy Institute (also published in the current issue of *The American Prospect*), economist Barry Bluestone and his colleagues suggest an Equity Investment in America proposal that would provide up to \$10,000 a year—or \$40,000 over a lifetime—in loans for any post-secondary school education.

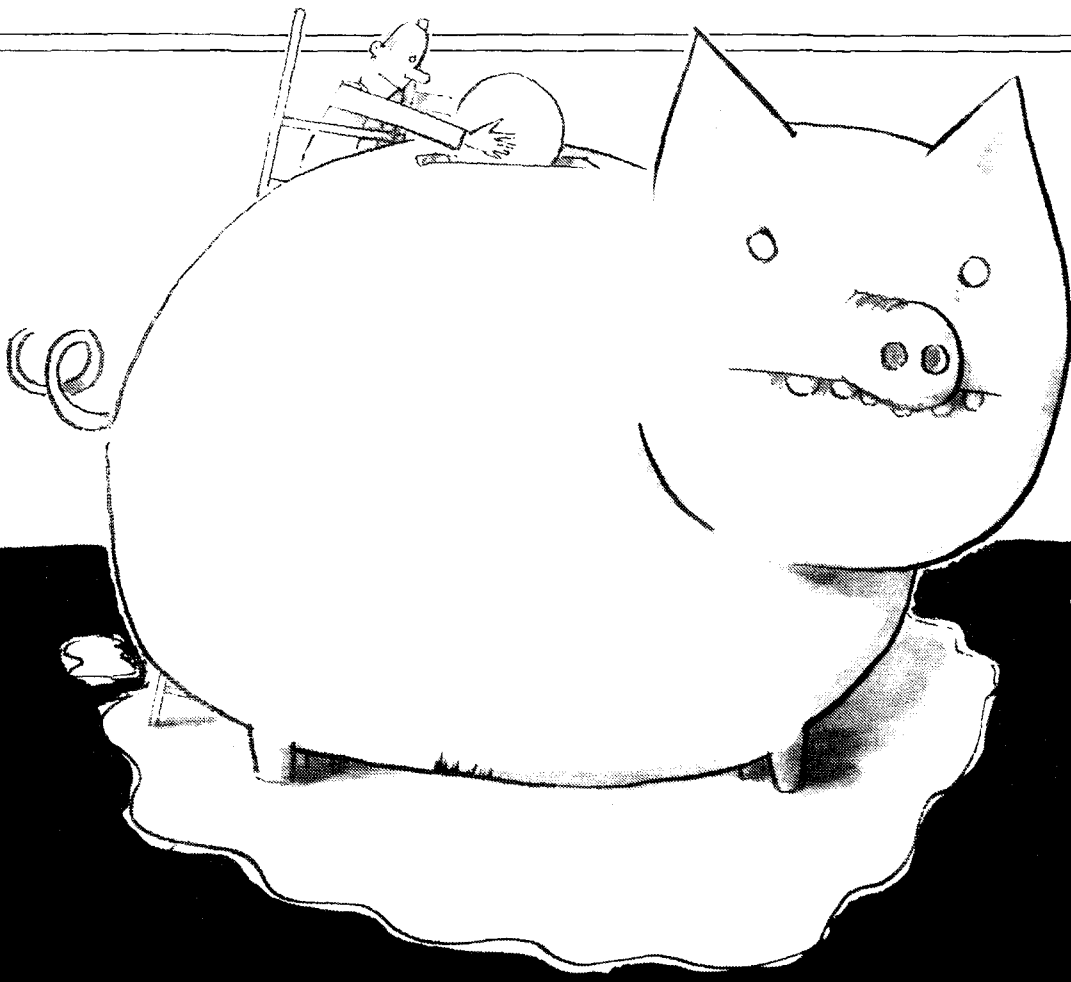
Although a boon to college students, who are increasingly hard-pressed to finance university education, Bluestone's plan wisely encompasses any accredited post-secondary education (tougher new standards are needed to prevent currently rampant trade-school ripoffs). Recipients would repay the loans at a rate contingent on their income: those making more would pay back faster, thus giving students more career flexibility.

Bluestone's proposal to finance the plan out of the Social Security surplus is a clever gimmick to make investment in education for future productivity more politically palatable at a time of budget gridlock. But such linkage is a mere accounting device and has one disadvantage: Social Security taxes supporting the plan are more regressive than income taxes.

**Food for liberal thought:** Behind both Osterman's and Bluestone's proposals lies an increasingly important lesson for liberals: in order to make programs work for the poor, let alone gain political acceptance, it is crucial to make them part of a more universal program that wins broad working- and middle-class support.

There are two caveats worth keeping in mind about these eminently sensible proposals. First, in the country's mad rush to find economic salvation through education, it is important not to forget that schools don't exist just to feed the factory and office maw. They exist also to educate self-governing citizens and well-rounded people, whatever economic stations they may occupy. Second, all the best schooling in the world will go for naught if U.S. business is not reshaped to permit these better-trained workers to flourish and to foster continued expansion of their skills. As so many underemployed and overqualified workers and graduates around the world have learned, training without opportunity means nothing. □





This is the first of a three-part series.

By Paul Hockenos & Jane Hunter

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

**T**HE WEST'S EUPHORIA OVER EASTERN Europe's metamorphosis is conspicuously absent in the Third World. The Southern Hemisphere's developing countries and liberation movements—particularly those with left orientations—see themselves as the victims of the political turnover and East-West rapprochement.

The erosion of Moscow's support and the sudden loss of Eastern Europe as a political patron is an enormous blow to Third World anti-imperialist struggles. Moreover, the new democracies in Central Europe will not prove neutral players in the arena of global politics. The mésalliance of East and West has cast the beholden nations into strategic accomplices in Western foreign-policy objectives in Africa, Asia, Central and South America and the Middle East.

To various degrees, all seven Warsaw Pact members have distanced themselves from their former "socialist brothers" in the Third World and have embraced a myriad of old adversaries, South Africa foremost among them. In Eastern Europe, decades of solidarity with the African National Congress (ANC) has either been hedged or outright reversed in favor of closer political and economic partnerships with the South African government. Charges of betrayal from the ANC and other liberation movements have done nothing to slow the process, which has had a resounding impact on their strategies.

Although not without its own share of hypocrisy, Soviet and Eastern European foreign policy provided resistance movements with critical military, economic and political support. Under the Brezhnev Doctrine, the Cold War logic of competing power blocs demanded extensive assistance programs to secure markets and establish a separate political identity outside the capitalist sphere of influence. The aid kept many of its beleaguered recipients afloat—dictatorships and genuine revolutionary struggles alike. Eastern Europe's backing

## East Europe, South Africa forge 'special relationship'

came mostly, but by no means exclusively, in the form of non-military aid. The diverse projects, from educational exchanges to giant development efforts, often proved more effective than the bloody results of arms.

Since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov took office in 1985 and the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan in 1988-89, the doctrine's reappraisal has seen assistance to the Third World slashed at every level. Soviet Third World policy has been largely concessionary—a dignified rout as Moscow directs its resources to its own economy and seeks to cement its relations with the U.S. and Western economic powers. While the Soviet Union has won almost universal kudos for its willingness to wind down the Cold War, in practical terms, a hard-pressed Moscow has capitulated to Washington in region after region.

Using the space created by Gorbachov, the Communist governments in Eastern Europe embarked on a gradual re-evaluation of their relations with the south as early as two years ago. This year, however, the newly elected governments have plotted a far more radical course. With their strapped economies plainly at the mercy of Western capital, the realpolitik of self-preservation has informed a near-total abandonment of the Third World. At the same time, the association of solidarity programs with the orthodox regimes has won the new policies—and the politicians behind them—popular approval at home.

**Of inhuman bondage:** Just as the anti-apartheid struggle in the West is intensifying, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia are developing ties with South Africa. Hungary, long on the cutting edge of East bloc reform, has also been the pacesetter in mending fences with the apartheid regime.

The country's opportunistic policies have already evoked charges of breaching international sanctions. In January, two months before Hungary's free parliamentary elections, Foreign Minister Pik Botha became the first ranking South African official to visit a Warsaw Pact country. Under the then-ruling Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), a reformed version of the hardline Communist party, the two nations agreed on a gradual "normalization" of relations and the development of commercial and industrial links.

The HSP feared that the Botha visit and earlier contacts with the white government in 1989 would be used as political ammunition against them. But their worry was short-lived as the fledgling opposition parties jumped at the chance to greet the South Africans. In a gaffe to Western reporters, the now-foreign minister of the ruling Hungarian

### Pretoria has begun actively recruiting Hungarians to immigrate.

Democratic Forum (HDF), Geza Jeszenszky, let it slip that no debate at all occurred within his party before the decision.

Since the right-nationalist HDF's victory, diplomatic liaisons have been exchanged and economic contacts greatly accelerated. On the third floor of the Budapest Intercontinental Hotel, the South African mission has overlooked the Danube since April.

There, its single representative, Cornelius Scholtz, meets with "the flood" of South African businessmen inquiring into joint ventures, investments and potential markets. Scholtz plays down the increasing trade with Hungary but is openly optimistic about the new relations.

"The government here has been very helpful and encouraging. There is no reason that full diplomatic relations will not be a reality in the near future," he explains, echoing statements by Hungarian politicians. On the subject of commerce, he says that there "is little that Hungary can offer us. Our business interests see the Hungarian market primarily in terms of export, mining and technology, for example."

The latest deal includes a joint bus-manufacturing operation, central bank coordination, air traffic by the Hungarian and South African national airlines (the latter is banned from the U.S.) and an easing of visa requirements. Over the past year South African fruit has appeared on Budapest store shelves, and other commercial, academic and tourist contacts were stepped up months previous

## TRADE

to the diplomatic swap. The cooperation opens the way for Central Europe to serve as an entrepot for sanction-busters with an eye toward the West European market.

The scam is not without precedent. ANC exiles in Budapest have confirmed recent French reports that despite Hungary's past claims of adherence to a total embargo against Pretoria, imposed by the faltering Soviet-bloc trade group Comecon, it has for several years been helping South Africa skirt Western sanctions by re-exporting South African products with fraudulent "made in Hungary" labels. And employees at a Budapest publishing house say that South African firms have used the facilities to print Afrikaans-language books that are identified as being produced in South Africa.

Budapest feebly justifies the "special relationship" with talk about a tiny 14,000-strong Hungarian community in the white-ruled country, most notably exiles from 1956. In order to strengthen the bonds, Pretoria has begun actively recruiting Hungarians to immigrate through help-wanted ads in newspapers. For skilled white labor such as engineers, doctors, mathematicians and other professionals, the apartheid state will pay 80 percent of travel expenses plus other costs and grant full citizenship. More than 23,000 Hungarians have rushed to apply for visas at the South African Embassy in Vienna, and approximately 2,000 Hungarians are on their way south each month.

The other link that the new allies draw upon is their mutual disdain for socialism. In the Hungarian press, Botha directly appealed to the potent anti-communist sentiment here: "So far the ANC is still preaching and advocating systems that Central and Eastern European nations have thrown out and that have brought misery and oppression to their people." The message strikes a chord in Hungary, where resentment runs so deep that even solidarity with South African blacks is tainted with overtones of the old regime. The complete absence of an anti-apartheid movement enabled the racist government to walk into Hungary without a word of protest.

The HDF leadership responds to questions about the connection testily. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall neglects even to criticize oppression of the black majority. "When did the international community ever protest the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania?" he answers instead, reflecting the self-pity and egoism characteristic of his nationalistic party. Foreign Minister Jeszenszky distances the new government

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# Barry

Continued from page 3

of other ethnic politicians who rode into office as the champion of their race or nationality only to fall victim to the temptations of power. Barry's downfall began in 1982, when he started using city workers and contracts as a way of ensuring his re-election. The mayor ended up created a Moscow-style bureaucracy in Washington—48,000 city workers in a city of 600,000. His machine specialized in delivering votes rather than services. City services and schools declined under Barry as taxes and the city payroll increased. While the mayor, a clever and ingratiating street politician, remained highly popular with the city's poor, he paid far more attention to the needs of white downtown developers. During the trial, Barry has curried favor not only with Farrakhan but with Stallings.

Stallings left the Catholic Church last year not because of political and racial differences with the church but because of allegations about his sexual conduct and financial affairs, the *Washington Post* reported last April. In an investigative story, it detailed Stallings' sexual relations with altar boys and misappropriation of church funds for personal use. In the past Barry had kept both men at arm's length, but now he embraces them at rallies. Indeed, after Barry appeared on stage with Farrakhan, Stallings, Tawana Brawley and Rep. Gus Savage at the Washington convention center, Barry's press spokesperson explained that the mayor and Farrakhan have a "shared commitment to a national agenda." Surveying Barry's conduct during his trial, Juan Williams wrote July 1 in the *Post*, "Nothing seems to be beneath the mayor's dignity."

# South Africa

Continued from page 9  
from "terrorist organizations" that Hungary backed in the past and says that foreign policy will now have "democratic criteria." Apparently South Africa's "promising developments" meet those criteria because the minister refuses to pledge adherence not only to Comecon's total embargo but also to less stringent Western sanctions. **More bondage:** Poland is also complicit. In April, the South African trade minister met with Warsaw ministers and bankers. The visit forecasts an exchange of representatives and trade that will likely take the form of Polish shipbuilding and technical expertise in return for raw materials, tropical produce and manufactured goods. The Poles have already agreed to buy 200,000 tons of iron ore (with a promise to import an additional 600,000 tons during 1990) and set up

a joint economic food venture. Reports from Prague claim that Czechoslovakia intends to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria by year's end. The ANC is outraged by these moves. General Secretary Alfred Nzo said that the ANC "unequivocally condemns" Hungary's action as a "cynical disregard for international agreements" and a "betrayal of the majority of the people of South Africa by forming a racist partnership with apartheid." A United Nations diplomat told *In These Times* that Hungary's behavior has "raised serious concern in U.N. circles about whether it ought to continue on the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid." Since the U.N. has no mechanism for removing members of special committees, individual members have exerted pressure directly on the country. South African ties with Moscow are not as strong as with Eastern Europe but are also improving. The two, the world's major producers of gold and diamonds, have long coordinated the market availability of those commodities. In the last few years the USSR has dropped its overt hostility toward Pretoria and begun tentative contacts, which it explains as contributing to a negotiated end to apartheid. However, there has been considerable speculation that Moscow might cut or curtail ANC aid—speculation that increased as Nelson Mandela failed to include the Kremlin in his recent international travels. Nevertheless, the ANC claims that it is not aware of any change in its relationship with Moscow or its most important East European ally, the German Democratic Republic. In light of the Germanies' imminent reunification, however, the GDR's military-intelligence cooperation and heavily state-funded solidarity projects are almost certain to be terminated, if they still exist. As of yet, the USSR has not pressured the ANC to end the armed struggle, but the effect of Moscow's "new thinking" is undeniable in the organization's emphasis on a negotiated settlement. For example, Namibia's independence, to date the crowning achievement of superpower cooperation on regional issues, forced the ANC to give up its front-line bases in Angola.

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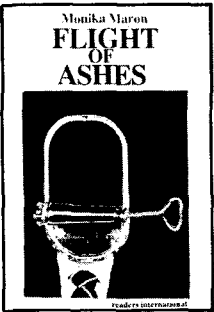
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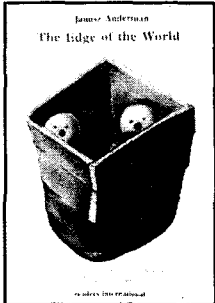
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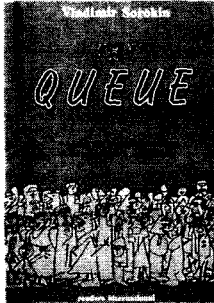
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# Ecology sinks in swamp of bureaucracy

By Paul Hockenos

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

FROM BERLIN TO SOFIA, OUTCRY AGAINST environmental neglect wove a common thread through the recent protest movements and political upheavals in Eastern Europe. But no sooner were the mechanics of Western democracy and market capitalism set in motion than popular ecological demands faded into the background. With a forum for social dialogue finally open, activists now confront struc-

## HUNGARY

tures considerably more formidable than their frail bureaucracies of the past.

Nowhere has the ecological movement collapsed so completely as in Hungary. In the wake of multiparty elections, the first pro-environment voice in the East finds itself more powerless and splintered than ever. Given Eastern Europe's shattered economies and populations still burdened with the legacy of Stalinism, the paralysis of Hungary's green movement could well foreshadow the fate of its counterparts throughout the region.

Following Solidarity's lead in Poland, the Blue Danube movement here appeared in the mid-'80s to contest the single-party state's monopoly on power and information. While centered around opposition to the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros dam project, the popular initiative set a precedent for a broad-based political movement. The space that it opened within civil society paved the way for a myriad of other then-illegal groups to surface. Once unleashed, the protest forces sent the ruling party into steady retreat, culminating in its defeat at the polls this spring.

The innovative and fiery spirit of the "Blues" raised since-unfulfilled hopes for protest politics in Hungary. In 1984, the Danube Circle group, a mix of professionals, intellectuals and concerned citizens, formed to oppose the joint Hungarian-Austrian-Czech hydroelectric power plant to be constructed on the Danube Bend north of Budapest. During the four-year campaign, hundreds of thousands signed petitions, *samizdat* publications sprang up and, for the first time since 1956, Hungarians took to the streets.

A model of Stalinist thinking, the dam project underlined the regime's flagrant disregard for the environment. The collaborators' rape of the ecosystem followed logically after four decades of production at all costs. Justified with pseudoscientific research and

mental destruction," explains Judith Vasarhelyi, a founding member of the Danube Circle and now executive director of the Independent Ecological Center (IEC) in Budapest. Information on nuclear energy, toxic waste and ecologically hazardous investment projects is still inaccessible to the public. "We face a legacy of information that was banned, falsified and misused, if it was available at all," she says. Not until 1985 was an environmental ministry established, only to be filled with party technocrats.

In Budapest and other cities, the acrid blue-gray haze that hovers in the city streets speaks for itself. Aged, two-stroke automobiles spew appalling levels of lead, carbon monoxide and carcinogenic hydrocarbons into the air—sometimes as much as 100 times above normative specifications. At 25,000 forints a shot (\$400), catalytic converters would cost car owners three times the average monthly salary. The energy-inefficient factories that burn brown coal account for excessive instances of respiratory disease and infant mortality. So polluted are the water resources with industrial waste and pesticides that the drinking water of 800 towns is imported in tanks.

From the Technical University Green Circle to the Association of Hungarian Ornithologists, many like-minded organizations have formed to confront the catastrophe at hand. The fragmented groups, however, have been unable to reach the bulk of the population.

"The dam was a symbol for the Communist Party," admits Vasarhelyi. "There wasn't really an environmental consciousness beneath the movement. And we failed to broaden it beyond the one issue." The goal of the newly formed IEC is to create a basic awareness of the problems that Hungary faces.

With extensive green posturing, the political parties have done their share to channel ecological angst away from a grass-roots movement. The parties' domination of the political sphere in a country raised on party rule has stunted the development of an alternative to parliamentary politics. Every party professes a staunch commitment to the environment, yet none offers either concrete policies or a plan to integrate that pledge into the transition to a market economy.

Green issues have yet to make their debut on the floor of parliament. The country's \$20-billion debt has the government and opposition alike scrambling to meet ruthless International Monetary Fund and World Bank repayment schedules. With the lords of international capital dictating policy, even the best-intentioned officeholders would be hard-pressed to implement costly new regulations or tighten the lax penalties against polluters. The government is equally anxious not to scare off foreign investment. The circumvention of home standards is an attractive feature for Western big business.

The country finds itself in no less a predicament on the question of nuclear power. With the dam scrapped and the days of Soviet oil numbered, environmentalists themselves have grudgingly come to endorse the nuclear option in order to cut back on brown coal. After only a month in office, the ruling coalition has started negotiations with French multinationals about financing additional atomic power plants here. The initiative reverses the former government's

moratorium on new reactors that was laid down in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

The water-cooled Paks reactor south of Budapest generates 40 percent of the country's electricity. The outdated Soviet model is the same one shut down on several East German sites following the disclosure of near-meltdown crises. After a battle with ethnic German residents living near the reactor's proposed waste dump, the plant's burned uranium rods are now sent back to the Soviet Union. But the deal is temporary and could well change with the two countries' evolving relationship.

**Uphill battle:** The patterns of Third World underdevelopment and exploitation are becoming increasingly evident in Eastern Europe. "The government uses the same justification for the nuke plants that the Communists did for the dam," argues Zsuzsa Béres of the Green Alternative Group, a community-based environmental organization. "They say it will be good for Hungary because then we can pay off our creditors in

**Every political party professes a staunch commitment to the environment, yet none offers either concrete policies or a plan to integrate that pledge into the transition to a market economy.**

energy. They say that we don't have a choice."

Chances for an anti-nuke movement are slim. "No one will question the new stations," fears Béres. "In school we learned that nuclear energy was the cheapest, cleanest and safest form of energy. People just aren't conscious of the risks."

The Green Party itself stands irrevocably split after a sound drubbing in the election. Unable to field candidates in most constituencies, Eastern Europe's second-oldest ecological party wound up with less than one-half of 1 percent of the national vote. The Greens' internecine factionalism is an East-

ern version of the familiar Western phenomenon. Immediately after the group's formation in 1988, hostility broke out between a party-oriented wing and proponents of a looser movement concept for the group. The former dissidents and activists, many coming from the Danube Circle, pushed for a grass-roots alliance of green groups, focusing on disarmament and social issues as well. The victorious wing, however—mostly fresh converts from the Communist Party—insisted on a more narrowly defined electoral strategy.

The former oppositionists felt ill at ease with the standard party structures and hierarchy, explains Gábor Hraskó, director of the East European Environmental Network. "It seemed that the present leadership just wanted a new bureaucracy that they could fit into again. The Greens now are more like a traditional conservation party than the broad political forum some of us had hoped for," says the former member.

Amid the upsurge in nationalism, the romantic affinity between "nature" and "environment" could lure misplaced concern down a nationalist path. The Greens, for example, have already cut themselves off from the Europeanwide movement, expelling international contacts such as Béres and Hraskó. Ultranationalist elements within the government coalition draw upon right-wing political movements of the '30s that tied rural cultural values to a spiritual notion of the Hungarian nation. The ideology opposes the conservation of everything "Hungarian"—from religion to the forests—to the rapid post-war industrialization, implicitly associated with socialism.

Despite the present conservative euphoria in Eastern Europe, the environment remains a critical rallying point for leftists. As the region's Latin Americanization is accelerated, the myths that Eastern Europeans have built around capitalism and bourgeois democracy should gradually lose their luster. Among the poor and working class, where the transition's backlash will hit first and hardest, social and ecological demands may appear mutually exclusive. The absence of an established middle class is likely to prevent Western-style green movements from making a breakthrough.

The political consciousness that Stalinism erased must be rejuvenated for the opposition to avoid a simple authoritarian alternative. While education and participation in civil society can help fill the ideological vacuum, the daunting proportions of the task ahead cannot be underestimated. □

**The patterns of Third World underdevelopment and exploitation are becoming increasingly evident in Eastern Europe.**

shrouded in secrecy, the project characterized the security state's approach to decisionmaking.

**Legacy of abuse:** The state's track record weighs heavily on activists today. "We have next to no data on the real extent of environ-



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# Bhopal

five

## The case against Union Carbide enters a crucial phase.



By Rob Jenkins

**M**ORE THAN FIVE AND A HALF years after a yellowish poison gas leaked from the Union Carbide Corp. pesticide plant in Bhopal, India, the hundreds of thousands of permanently disabled victims and relatives of the dead are finally getting their day in court. This month the Indian Supreme Court will consider their petition to invalidate the \$470 million court-initiated "settlement" to which the previous Indian government, acting on the victims' behalf but against their wishes, had acceded in February 1989. If the review petition sways the justices, the original suit against Union Carbide, pre-empted by the court-ordered settlement, could resume in a lower court.

Ever since 1985, when Parliament passed a law making the Indian government the official legal representative of the claimants, there has been widespread fear that the victims would get sold out in a backroom deal. After all, leaders of the Congress Party, which was in power from 1980 until last November's general election, enjoyed close ties to Union Carbide. Party operatives, for example, had been able to secure jobs at Union Carbide for relatives and supporters. And the Congress government had allowed UCC, the American parent company, to hold a 51 percent stake in its subsidiary, Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL), thereby skirting laws that limit foreign firms to 40 percent ownership of their Indian subsidiaries.

Moverover, the Congress-controlled state government failed to enforce industrial regulations at the Union Carbide plant, and what exactly went on at the company's separate research and development facility in Bhopal remains largely a mystery. These sins of omission were augmented by actions that further endangered the community. In a fit of populist pandering during an election campaign, Arjun Singh, the former Congress Party chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, the state in which Bhopal is located, granted land rights to the squatters who had erected a shantytown in the shadow of the Union Carbide plant. These people were among the first to inhale the escaped methyl isocyanate that killed—depending on the estimate—from 2,500 to 8,000.

**Impropriety:** As the case dragged on, critics became increasingly convinced that Rajiv Gandhi's government, voted into power to succeed his martyred mother only a few weeks after the lethal leak occurred, was not interested in bringing all facts to light before a court of law. Thus, when the government proclaimed that it was duty-bound to obey the court's extremely un-

orthodox \$470 million settlement order, victims' groups and opposition parties believed their long-held suspicions had been justified.

Large protests were staged throughout India. Many observers believed that the actions of the Supreme Court and the Indian government—not to mention the provisions of the settlement itself—were so far at odds with standard judicial procedure that nothing but a collusive effort to let Union Carbide off the hook could explain them.

For example, the Supreme Court was supposed to rule on only the narrow question of whether to uphold a lower court ruling that forced Union Carbide to provide an interim level of compensation before the case went to trial. "It was the duty of the court to either uphold or overturn that judgment and to give written reasons," says Clarence Dias of New York City's International Center for Law in Development. "It exceeded its powers when, instead of doing so, the court proceeded to impose upon the Bhopal victims a settlement without their participation or consent and against their expressed wishes." And, as if this overstepping of bounds weren't suspicious enough, the settlement terms barred any future criminal prosecution against Union Carbide officials.

Despite these irregularities, there is no hard evidence demonstrating Supreme Court complicity in arranging a doctored settlement. But Dias argues that at the very least the situation had the appearance of impropriety. The chief justice, it seems, was not completely independent. Not only did he play a leading role in imposing a court-ordered settlement—effectively shielding the government from charges of corruption—but "he did this in the very same month when he sought and obtained the executive's nomination to a seat on the International Court of Justice," Dias explains. "Surely, Chief Justice [R.S.] Pathak should have stepped down from the bench when he was seeking a favor from the plaintiff in the case, namely the Indian government."

The case's tenor changed last December with the departure of Gandhi's scandal-plagued government. The new prime minister, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, a former member of Gandhi's Cabinet, currently heads a precarious minority coalition. Despite this political instability, within three months of taking office Singh's National Front government arranged the first large-scale distribution of funds to the victims since the 1984 gas leak, something Gandhi was either unable or unwilling to accomplish during his five-year term.

What amazes people like Rob Hager, a public-interest lawyer in Washington, D.C., who has represented Bhopal claimants in state and federal suits in the U.S. and has filed an amicus brief in support of the victims' petition to the Indian Supreme Court, is that the victims have to go through the review petition process at all. "When the court finally allowed the victims to speak, they clearly stated that they didn't accept the settlement agreed to by the Gandhi government," he says. "And while the



# 7 years after

court was deliberating on the constitutionality of the law that made the government the victims' representative, a new government came into power with a new policy. Any party to a settlement is allowed to change its mind, as long as they do it before the final order is handed down."

The Indian government privately agrees with this legal interpretation, but it is constrained by the need to bolster its image in the eyes of the international business community. A source close to the case who requested anonymity says that India wants to bend over backward to avoid seeming political in its handling of the case. "We do not want it to look like there is no continuity from one government to the next," the source says. "We cannot attract foreign investors if they think commitments will be broken when power changes hands."

As a result, the Indian government is operating on three fronts simultaneously. First, government lawyers are working with the victims' groups to strengthen the arguments presented in their Supreme Court petition. At the same time, they are researching various aspects of American law to demonstrate that the Supreme Court review is nothing out of the ordinary in either U.S. or Indian law, and that Union Carbide is therefore receiving due process. And, finally, the government is investigating the potential for new litigation in U.S. courts, where awards for personal injury and wrongful death are much greater than in India.

**Man with a mission:** These issues topped the agenda of a recent two-week visit to the U.S. by Indian Attorney General Soli Sorabji and his legal team. Sorabji insists that the government is not attempting to increase the settlement offer. Its mission, he maintains, is to point out the fundamental flaws contained in the agreement. Consequently, the central premise of the victims' petition is that the number of victims on which the settlement was based grossly undercounts the number of dead and injured. More than 17 studies on methyl isocyanate's long-term effects were submitted as appendices, along with a supporting affidavit. While visiting the U.S., Sorabji was presented with a report issued by the National Toxics Campaign Fund, a Boston-based environmental group. On the basis of lab tests, the researchers concluded that several toxic substances were still found in the Bhopal environment, raising further questions about the disaster's long-term effects.

The Indian legal team's consultation with their Minneapolis-based lawyers confirmed their belief that no precedent exists in U.S. law for granting criminal immunity to defendants in a civil action. The attorney general also stated that he was not aware of any settlement of a U.S. class-action suit that did not include a hearing for the victims. Clearly playing to an international audience, Sorabji added that Union Carbide efforts to portray the review petition as some kind of political manipulation of the legal system were completely un-

founded because rehearings in the U.S. Supreme Court are an established procedure.

As for a return appearance in the U.S. courts, the Indian delegation was encouraged by public-interest lawyer Rob Hager to capitalize on Union Carbide's fear of such a scenario. The Bhopal-related litigation in the U.S., consolidated under U.S. District Court Judge John Keenan in 1985, was dismissed in 1986 because the U.S. was deemed an "inconvenient" forum for the suits. This was a major victory for Union Carbide. Ironically, if the victims' petition succeeds in voiding the settlement order and Union Carbide does indeed cry foul, it would increase the possibility of a return to the U.S. courts.

Regardless of what happens to the victims' review petition in India, Hager, as well as the Bhopal Justice Campaign (BJC), a Los Angeles advocacy group with whom he has worked, both emphasize the need to continue pursuing litigation in the U.S. "Punitive damages against Carbide can only be awarded by a U.S. court," says BJC's Joanne Doroshov.

Because of legal developments over the past couple of years, the state courts have emerged as the plaintiff's most promising line of attack. In 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Chick Kam Choo* case that a federal court's dismissal of a case on grounds of "inconvenience"—this doctrine, the same one used by Judge Keenan, is called *forum non conveniens*—does not bind a state court judge. Nevertheless, a separate suit filed by Bhopal claimants in Texas state court was dismissed without explanation later in 1988.

Despite that setback, Hager and Doroshov still see California and Texas as the best prospects for litigation. As evidence, they both pointed to a decision handed down on March 28 by the Texas Supreme Court that repudiated the doctrine of *forum non conveniens* in personal injury or wrongful death suits filed by foreigners. "Judge [Lloyd] Doggett, who wrote the concurring opinion, decided, rightly, that *forum non conveniens* had become a tool for arbitrarily dismissing cases," Hager says.

The other benefit to litigating in state courts, Hager adds, was that the plaintiffs were no longer subject to the ideological slant—which tends to be highly conservative and pro-business—of the judicial panel responsible for assigning multidistrict litigation to a circuit court judge. "The selection of Judge Keenan," Hager argues, "was not an accident."

**PR case study:** The slippery dissembling exhibited by Union Carbide and the Gandhi government illustrates both the value and the limits of shrewd public relations—that is, they each got away with more than would have seemed possible, though in the end neither could escape democracy's tempering effects.

Union Carbide's behavior since the Bhopal gas leak was, in the words of an Indian journalist, "a model of self-serving deceit." Indeed, the record is full of egre-

gious examples. For instance, shortly after the disaster the company insisted that it had not maintained lower safety standards in India than at its American plants. When this position backfired by igniting fears that a similar accident could happen in the U.S., Union Carbide officials reversed themselves, listing safety systems and procedures used in the American plant that were absent in Bhopal.

In the gas leak's immediate aftermath, as physicians attempted to treat the sick and dying, company officials refused them access to internally produced studies on methyl isocyanate's effects, calling the research a "trade secret." And literally adding insult to injury, Union Carbide demanded that \$5 million in relief aid it had sent while the case was still in the U.S. courts be counted as part of the \$470 million settlement order, although it had originally claimed the money was a humanitarian gesture with no strings attached.

Yet, amid all these tactical advances and retreats, Union Carbide has weathered the storm with a crack public-relations campaign that shows no sign of letting up. At April's annual shareholders' meeting, for instance, the company waged a deliberate campaign to misrepresent the status of the Bhopal-related litigation. The carefully worded proxy statement declared that "Union Carbide and its legal counsel in the U.S. and India believe that the settlement is final and that no basis exists to set it aside." But surely they don't "believe" that at all. They know that the matter is under review by the Indian Supreme Court and that the deal could easily collapse.

Thanks to the U.S. media's general willingness to swallow the bait, many Americans are under the impression that the case is over. Given that Union Carbide's stock increased sharply on the day the original settlement order was announced in February 1989, it is not hard to discern why the company is eager to promote the appearance of finality.

For its part, the Gandhi government was able to escape broad international criticism by building its public-relations campaign around the perception of India as a down-and-out Third World government valiantly protecting its citizens. It was aided by a flattering comparison: Gandhi and his Indian legal team could seem only virtuous when viewed alongside the maudlin image of private U.S. attorneys combing the streets and hospitals of Bhopal in an effort to drum up clients.

To make things worse, in early 1986, shortly before the "forum" ruling sent the case to India, American lawyers, fearing they would end up with nothing if the case left the U.S., urged the Indian government to accept a new Union Carbide offer of \$350 million. The government, which had good reason to want the case back in India, where it could be more easily manipulated, was able to strike a moral pose by denouncing the settlement as absurdly low and the American lawyers as insatiably greedy.

**Justified vilification:** Yet Gandhi's strategy was undone by the strength of India's democracy. Advocates for the victims used India's relatively open political process to pressure the government not to cut a deal with Union Carbide. Sit-ins, rallies, street plays and other forms of demonstration kept the case in the public arena. Later, to protest the outrageous settlement, the entire opposition twice walked out of the lower house of Parliament. Ultimately, the electorate ousted Gandhi's Congress Party because

corruption had become pervasive.

Back when he was still being called "Mr. Clean" because of his late entry into politics, Gandhi could be given the benefit of the doubt in his handling of the Bhopal case. But his other activities soon began to color public opinion. Above all, people simply could not believe that a party as opportunistic as the Congress under Rajiv Gandhi—if it really had nothing to hide—would not milk the tragedy for all it was worth. For Gandhi, who has used even the shakiest of evidence to discredit his enemies, to let such a chance for political gain slip by appeared deeply suspicious. Here was a case where the enemy was real, where vilification would have been not only easy but justified—a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. And the Congress party was not going to exploit it?

For Union Carbide, the limits of public relations are not yet as clear. Unlike the Gandhi government, the company's survival is not subject to referendum. Financially, it has so far come away virtually unscathed (1988 was a record year for earnings, at \$4.88 a share). Yet, in the long run, the Bhopal incident catalyzed a full-fledged movement to hold Union Carbide responsible for both its past and present.

According to David Dembo, director of the Bhopal Action Resource Center in New York City, opposition to Union Carbide's activities is more united than ever. Dembo is co-author of a recently released book, *Abuse of Power*, that portrays the Bhopal gas leak as a natural extension of Union Carbide's 72-year history of corporate irresponsibility. "The more you learn about Carbide's past, the clearer the pattern of abuse becomes," he says.

If Union Carbide finds itself under increasing scrutiny, much credit must go to the deluge of information that followed the Bhopal disaster, Dembo argues. "They can't make a move without someone starting up a protest and spreading the word," he says.

A concrete manifestation of this solidarity is the Coalition for a Responsible Carbide, which consists of environmental and citizens groups from around the U.S. At the April shareholders' meeting, the coalition held a press conference at which it presented research indicating that "toxic waste at several Union Carbide facilities has actually increased in the last year." Also at the press conference was John Blair, whose group forced the Union Carbide plant in Henderson, Ky., to release information on chemical use and storage at the site. This was the first time a company was challenged for refusing to comply with community requests for information under Title II of the Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act. Public-relations victories notwithstanding, Union Carbide is feeling lots of pressure.

Perhaps the most important point made by the Singh government is that holding multinationals accountable for their actions will not staunch the flow of foreign investment. Despite its incessant whining, Union Carbide continues to operate in India. And with Pepsi-Cola, Corning, Bechtel, DuPont and a host of other American companies setting up joint ventures, business is expected to boom.

If the Indian Supreme Court rules in favor of the Bhopal victims, it is unlikely that any of these companies—except perhaps Union Carbide—will pull out of the country. What they likely will do, however, is act with caution and treat the government and the people of India with newfound respect. □

**Rob Jenkins** is a Cambridge, Massachusetts-based writer.



# EDITORIAL



In the U.S., all public housing suffers from problems similar to those of state-owned and -operated housing in the USSR.

## If Moscow can do it, why can't we?

In early July the newly elected Moscow City Council, acting under a new federal law on land, proclaimed the city to be landlord of all Moscow. Then it voted to give all the city's apartments to their tenants. Under the new decree—assuming it is put into effect—all current apartment dwellers will be given title to their dwellings and Muscovites will have the right to buy or sell their apartments.

Private ownership of Moscow's two million apartments raises all kinds of questions and potential problems. Currently, rents run from about 15 rubles to 30 rubles a month (about 5 percent to 10 percent of average monthly income, or \$2.50 to \$5 at the tourist exchange rate), including utilities. And until now maintenance of the buildings has been the state's responsibility. The true cost of utilities and of maintenance, which has only rarely been done—and then poorly—is unknown. No one knows what apartments will cost once tenants have to buy gas and electricity and get together to agree on how they will repair and take care of the common areas of their buildings, many of which are now disaster areas.

It is also unclear how the Moscow City Council will handle new construction or house new arrivals to the city. The theory on which the City Council acted was that the tenants of existing housing long ago paid for it in deflated wages and the oppressive working conditions of the past 70 years. But tenants of new buildings will presumably have to buy their apartments or, if they lack the money to do so, rent them. If the new system is to work, this problem and many others will have to be solved.

Even so, privatization of housing is a welcome step in the process of democratization. It will free tenants from their often frustrating and debilitating entanglement with city bureaucrats. It will motivate the new owners to keep their buildings clean and in good repair. And, in general, it will give them more control over their living conditions and, therefore, greater independence from the state.

In our view, all of this is consistent with socialist principles, which to us means social, or democratic, control of production, not state

ownership of individual private property. And it is also consistent with a capitalist worldview, as the *Wall Street Journal* made clear in a recent editorial. The *WSJ*, of course, welcomes this step, which it hopes will prove to be only a straw in a capitalist whirlwind sweeping through the Soviet Union. Our hope is somewhat different, but like Americans across the political spectrum, we're happy to see any step away from state domination of civil society in the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, back in the U.S. of A., we have our own housing problems. The *WSJ* talks about the new owners in Moscow doing "a better job of maintaining the buildings than the state has done." And it points out that with hallways, lobbies, stairs and elevators plagued by peeling paint and smelling of urine, "they could scarcely do worse." These conditions resemble "the worst of Western ghettos," the *Journal* says, and we heartily agree. But as the *Journal* cheers the Moscow City Council on, it is silent on the continuing deterioration of housing in our own country.

It is clear to us that the free market is incapable of providing affordable modern housing for large parts of our population. And it is equally clear that too much of the housing provided by the market, and virtually all of our public housing, suffers from problems similar to those of state-owned and -operated housing in the Soviet Union. Clearly there is a critical need for a massive program of federally subsidized or federally constructed housing. And there is an equally pressing need for greater tenant control or tenant ownership of apartments in existing public-housing developments in cities throughout the United States.

If private ownership of apartments will encourage Moscow's tenants to take pride in their property and to maintain it in good condition, the same would be true of the tenants now living in the miserably maintained and partially abandoned public housing that plagues our big-city ghettos. Title to these apartments should be given to the people now living in them. Local governments should help tenants organize cooperative management of their new property, with all rents going toward maintaining and improving the buildings and immediate environs. That would be a good first step toward improving housing for low-income Americans, one that could reduce the cost of government by eliminating most of the existing public-housing bureaucracies, while dramatically improving housing conditions.

If it's good enough for Moscow, it should be good enough for us. ■

## IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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Writers Union

GOV



# LETTERS

## Offensive I

THIS IS TO PROTEST THE OFFENSIVE CAPTION APPENDED to the Oliphant cartoon illustrating the Aaron Back article (*JTT*, June 20).

The caption's reliance on dialect distracts and detracts from the article's thrust. As my wife and I see it, it belongs with Goebbels' "wit" and, at best, suggests that Oliphant deems the cartoon unable to stand on its own merit.

The extreme poor taste of the cartoon and the poor judgment in choosing it for publication is a disservice to the cause it purports to support and an affront to the intelligence of the reader.

Malcolm Hardon  
Santa Monica, Calif.

## Offensive II

AS A LONGTIME SUBSCRIBER TO *IN THESE TIMES*, I was very distressed and angered by the cartoon on page 3 of the June 20 issue. It has a strong anti-Semitic tinge. The hooked noses and beards of the right-wing Jews portrayed, particularly in conjunction with the so-called Jewish accents in the text, could have come right out of some of the neo-Nazi publications of the '30s, '40s or '50s. They have no place in a paper such as yours.

There is no doubt that the Shamir government is reactionary and repressive, and it should be attacked as such. However, such attacks should relate to Shamir's government as head of state and not in terms of an ethnicity which is essentially irrelevant in the political dialogue.

Howard Walzer  
Far Rockaway, N.Y.

Editor's note: We agree with the criticisms expressed by Malcolm Hardon, Howard Walzer and others whose letters we have not printed. The Oliphant cartoon that appeared in our June 20 issue slipped through the cracks of our editorial process. We apologize and will try to assure that similar mistakes do not occur.

## Enlightenment

AARON BACK DESCRIBES THE NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT as "the most hardline and extremist in Israel's history" (*JTT*, June 20) and predicts that "the government will bring a discernible rightward shift to national and foreign-policy decision-making."

Yet in its first month in existence, the Israeli government announced that it would not, as a matter of policy, send new Soviet Jewish immigrants to the disputed West Bank territories; released some 400 imprisoned Arab rioters; and provided financial compensation to the families of Arabs who were killed by a lone Israeli gunman, even though as a government it had no obligation to do so.

In short, Back's simplistic characterization of the new Israeli government ignores the fact that, in the complex labyrinth of Israeli politics, parties and individuals do not always fit neatly into the narrow "right" and "left" categories of American political discourse.

Bertram Korn Jr.  
Executive Director, Committee for Accuracy  
in Middle East Reporting in America  
Philadelphia

## Bootlickers, labor fakers

SPeAKING AS AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER, I HAVE more than a few differences with John B. Judis' article, "U.S. automakers ride a rough terrain" (*JTT*, March 28). To be brief, Judis' focus seems to be that American autoworkers and the bosses of the "big three" have a common interest in fighting the Japanese (surprising statements to see in a "socialist" newspaper). Judis also seems to think that the auto bosses are really interested in protecting American industry, American jobs and the United Auto Workers (which Judis actually claims the auto bosses support!). This sounds like a dream, and, well, I'll take this opportunity to "wake up" Judis.

Frankly, I notice far too much emphasis on "labor-management cooperation" and "team concepts" in this article. How can there be cooperation when workers and bosses have a fundamental conflict? Workers sell their labor power to bosses and want to get as much for their labor power as they can. Bosses buy labor power and want as much work as possible as cheaply as possible. Also, there is a tremendous power imbalance between workers and any bosses. The only protection workers have is a labor union whose limited resources are totally dependent on small weekly dues from them. The reality is that the reason bosses "cooperate" with their hired hands is to get more work from fewer workers for less pay, and I really don't think auto bosses are any different from any other bosses.

As for all Judis' emphasis on "productivity," all I can say is that if Judis ever worked in a factory he'd know that workers don't use that word. The term they use is "speed up." And when the foreman tells you to "speed up," the only real choice is to resist. If you don't, they'll expect you to do more work, and the next guy's out. Then the guy after you does more work, and you're out. Then the company's made more product than people can buy, and everybody's out. I'm amazed Judis doesn't realize this.

Finally, Judis attacks the only people that are out there defending U.S. autoworkers. I think Michael Moore's wonderful movie really exposed the naked, amoral greed that is behind those "white men in suits behind desks" that own America's auto industry. By their own admission, they're in business not to make cars but to make money, and if they have to destroy U.S. jobs, unions or communities, they will. In fact, they're up to their necks "cooperating" with the very same Japanese bosses Judis claims are the mortal enemies of American autoworkers (GM with Toyota, Ford with Mazda and Chrysler with Mitsubishi, not to mention

numerous joint ventures throughout the world).

Among the few groups to realize this is New Directions. They see that the only way to protect American jobs is the old-fashioned way—struggle. Licking Roger Smith's or Lee Iacocca's boots, the method suggested by Judis and the time-servers and hacks at Solidarity House, just won't do it. The only way to stop layoffs is with a fight against the bosses, American or Japanese—exploitation doesn't have a nationality.

Gregory A. Butler  
New York

## Super-sensitive

I'D ALWAYS THOUGHT THAT WHEN I "COVERED MY butt" I was protecting it from a kick (as in "to kick ass"). But now that Phil Bereano (*Letters*, June 20) has explained the true origin of the idiom (which explanation suggests that female butt-coverers may be—alternatively or additionally—protecting an adjacent orifice), I hope we'll all stop offending the sensibilities of conquering armies that quite understandably engage in a little anal rape (which is no big deal, really; just relax and enjoy it).

I'm shocked, therefore, that Bereano uses the word "sodomy"; this clearly maligns the citizens of Sodom, just as "buggery" unjustly stereotypes Bulgarians and members of the Greek Orthodox Church. ("Bugger" and "buggery" derive from medieval Latin *Bulgaris*, which signifies not only an ethnic Bulgarian but also a "heretic"—specifically a member of the Greek Church. Very strange, but true.)

Bereano has, I think, screwed up (my apologies to prison guards); he has, in fact, written a load of balls (sorry to insult male sexuality). It is (African-American readers, please forgive me) a black day for the English language.

Robert Allen  
Philadelphia

## Stationary posts

THE RECENT ARTICLE IN YOUR JUNE 20 EDITION "A search for policy in Cold War's wake," took issue with an amendment that I offered to the Export Facilitation Act of 1990. My amendment, which was adopted by a vote of 390-24, conditioned the export of high-technology goods to the Soviet Union on negotiations between the Soviet Union and Lithuania over the issue of self-determination. It also provided that negotiations should be pursued "without economic coercion." Rep. Mel Levine (D-CA) added additional language on Jewish emigration.

The author of the article, John B. Judis, argued that such an amendment appeared to "be moving the goalpost each time the Soviet Union advances down the field." I couldn't disagree more.

At this moment the Soviet Union is imposing an economic blockade on Lithuania. Though there are some hopeful signs, the blockade effectively denies this small nation energy resources, medicine and such basic necessities of life as chlorine to purify water. This is not a new tactic by the Kremlin.

In 1948 Moscow imposed a similar blockade on Berlin. Fortunately, the Allies rallied to Berlin's side and the blockade was broken. The effort to apply economic pressure on behalf of Communism failed.

Though we are all heady with the euphoria of normalized relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, should we be so naive as to ignore the obvious? Mikhail Gorbachov is using the economic blockade to force Lithuania's hand and to avoid any negotiations over a future free status for Lithuania. Though I concede that the future of the Baltic nations and the republics of the Soviet Union is a thorny issue, should the U.S. ignore the hardship and suffering being endured by the Lithuanian people if these facts run counter to our dream of peace?

I hope not.

And I offer as my evidence the recent visit by Nelson Mandela. Apologists for apartheid and the South African government cautioned the U.S. not to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. They argued that it would only stiffen the resolve of Pretoria, deny strategic resources to the U.S. and penalize black South Africans. Their counsel was ignored. Sanctions were imposed, and Mandela was freed.

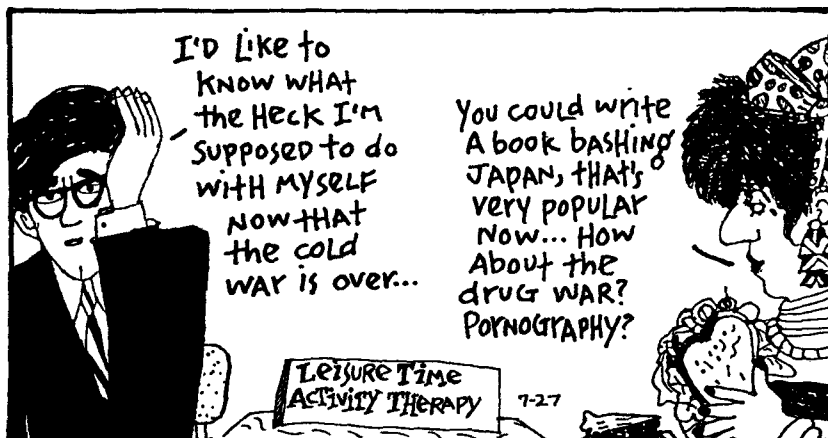
Whether the cause is South Africa or the Soviet Union, we should not be so naive as to allow our hopes for peace to cloud the reality of human-rights violations.

Finally, though I am sure that the election of Boris Yeltsin was the major reason, our action on the House floor may have helped to break the deadlock and start the inevitable negotiations between the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

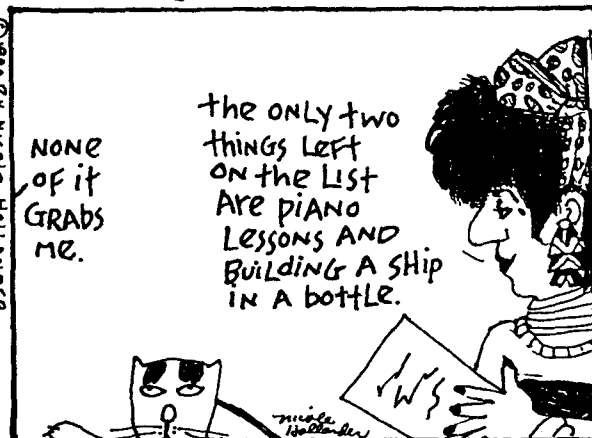
Richard J. Durbin  
U.S. House of Representatives  
20th District, Illinois

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

## SYLVIA



## by Nicole Hollander





By James B. Gilbert

**I**N 1945, THE UNITED STATES STOOD supreme in the world, a nation with astounding productivity, a sense of purpose, a population committed to identifiable social goals and a thriving, if small, welfare state. Its allies as well as its enemies were exhausted.

In 1990, the U.S. is only a first among equals in a polycentric capitalist world. It suffers a decayed and archaic infrastructure, political stalemate, economic stagnation and moral disorder. But its long-term enemy, the Soviet Union, threatens at any moment to fly apart under the centrifugal forces of economic calamity and ethnic jealousy. If George Bush has the dubious honor of watching over a victory in the Cold War that he does not understand or finds too dangerous to savor, Mikhail Gorbachov has the infinitely more difficult task of presiding over the dismemberment of Soviet power and the dismantling of many Communist elements of the Soviet economy.

With these events has come an unraveling of long-held assumptions about the Cold War. In particular, the left has had to confront the possibility that liberals and conservatives were basically correct in their assessment of the struggle between the West and the Soviet Union—a possibility, that positions taken during the last 45 years were wrong. Such a reassessment was the subject of two recent meetings in Washington, D.C., at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). The first meeting was held June 9 and the second the next day to honor the works of American historian William Appleman Williams, who died in April.

**The surface view:** The urgency of this task has been increased recently by conservative claims that Reagan's policies brought the Soviet Union to its knees and by a more reasoned liberal position that, despite some excesses and failures, the Cold War was a historic success. If there is a liberal consensus valedictory to the Cold War, its author is probably John Lewis Gaddis, a historian at Ohio University. His assessment, published in the May 1990 *Atlantic Monthly*, is

## Reopening the Cold War debate in a polycentric, capitalist world



sober but celebratory. Gaddis argues that the bipolar world of struggle in the last decades promoted a European peace, much better than the settlement following World War I. Indeed, he hopes for a continuation, under another guise, of this arrangement, with the survival of Russia as a great power, yet capitalist in nature. On balance, he concludes, there is much to be pleased about with the defeat of Marxism-Leninism and, as he puts it, "authoritarian command" economies.

The implications of accepting such a position were deeply troubling to many participants at the IPS conference. They were quick to point out the enormous cost to the Third World of a Cold War fought away from the power centers in Europe and North America. At the same time, the new peace between East and West could cut even more deeply into Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America. With the Communist model of development in disrepute and with no power to challenge multinational corporations and banks, developing nations have less reason than ever to expect revolutionary social and economic experiments to survive.

Several of the participants argued that taking up the issue of Third World development—or, indeed, struggling against proclaiming victory in the Cold War—could provide a way to activate left groups in the U.S. Certainly it would make sense to explore a new developmental model that could avoid the destructiveness of market capitalism and authoritarian socialism.

**A shift in perspective:** But reassessing the last 45 years must involve much more than foreign policy, as interesting and important as this can be. The price of victory in the U.S. is an issue that is beginning to dominate American politics. Ironically, the crusade against socialism abroad has weakened and deeply damaged the social-welfare system that has made our market system tolerable. While it may be important to deepen our understanding of the Cold War and its incredible impact abroad, it is probably more important to focus on the ways the Cold War became an important element in the struggle over the welfare state inside the U.S.

A new history of the Cold War should be

written, but not with the idea of retaining old positions. Instead, we must recognize that the stunning suddenness of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the peaceful transfer of power to non-Communists in Eastern Europe raises a host of new questions. Might the Cold War have ended in 1956, or 1960, or 1968? How aware of Soviet weakness were American policymakers? Were there political reasons why neither side would bend at crucial moments? How did the Cold War operate as a force in American and Soviet politics? What will the Soviet (and American) archives reveal about these questions?

Williams' writings bear directly on such problems. Although conceived and written in the late '50 and early '60s and therefore bound by the language and arguments of that age, *The Tragedy of America* and *The Contours of American History* offer some striking suggestions about the impact of the Cold War. As outlined by Martin J. Sklar, Walter LaFeber, Thomas McCormick and others at the June 10 conference, Williams' works provide a frame for understanding how the market system could emerge victorious in an ideological and economic struggle while undercutting and seriously diminishing the victor.

In his books Williams called American foreign policy a search for the "Open Door," or, in today's language, the market system. He clearly understood the values of American policymakers, their commitment to American institutions such as political democracy and anti-colonialism; he recognized the importance of their patriotism. But he also understood that commitment to both the market and to democratic values carried a tragic flaw, for the market disrupted and destroyed the best of intentions. In a world where choices between economic and alternative values had to be made, economics triumphed.

In periodizing American history, Williams extended this same tragic sense. Again his language was sometimes idiosyncratic, but his meaning was clear and compelling. With the triumph of corporate liberalism in the late 19th century Williams saw a fundamental and continuing struggle between traditional American values of community—values he associated with his childhood in Iowa and his experiences at Annapolis and in the Navy—and the needs of a system of economic expansion abroad and corporate consolidation at home.

In his remarks on Williams' work, historian Christopher Lasch developed this notion of tragedy and contradiction. The U.S., he noted, had certainly won the Cold War. By any measure the Soviet Union has been defeated. Yet, in the struggle the U.S. had also spent much of its spiritual, moral and economic capital.

This argument suggests Williams' most enduring contribution—his sense of the ideological and moral nature of the Cold War and its costs, what Lasch deplored as the cynicism, bureaucracy and moral disorder of contemporary American society. This, not a defense of old positions, can also be the point on which to reopen the debate over the Cold War itself. It is a debate that, as Alan Hunter, organizer of the IPS conference, noted, is as much about this compromised past as a perilous future. ■

James B. Gilbert is distinguished professor of history at the University of Maryland.

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By John R. MacArthur

**B**Y COINCIDENCE I CAUGHT UP WITH NELSON Mandela's U.S. tour in Detroit, black America's capital of despair and a place that infects the most optimistic liberals with a sense that nothing can be done to help. There may be poorer, more segregated cities in this country (cities perhaps with larger white populations), but nothing I've seen evokes the notion of American-style apartheid as convincingly as a drive along Jefferson Avenue from the desolate downtown, eastbound past the big old Chrysler plant and across the city line into the suddenly white and stunningly affluent villages known as the Gross Pointes.

All I know about South Africa comes from books and conversation. I assume that black South Africans have it much worse than black Americans. Yet Detroit somehow makes it hard for such comparisons to work to America's advantage, and the hype and hypocrisy that accompanied Mandela into the city on Thursday night was in many ways appalling.

Here was the five-term satrap of Detroit, black machine mayor Coleman Young, welcoming a former political prisoner of evident principle to the cheering, paying throng at Tiger Stadium. In the two weeks prior to Mandela's arrival, Young was busy shaking down the city's employees for donations to the African National Congress. His letter dated June 15 asked the good civil servants to "please give generously when your departmental coordinator contacts you so we can show Mr. Mandela and the world [that] the city and its employees are committed to the struggle for freedom in South Africa."

**Young and the restless:** One might ask what Young has been doing lately to show Mandela and the world that he cares about making Detroit a slightly less miserable place to live. For one thing, he cut the city's portion of the library budget in half, from \$250,000 to \$125,000, threatening the closure of five branch libraries. On the day of Mandela's visit the state legislature stepped in to keep the branches open (and reinstate funding for the Detroit symphony orchestra), but the rescue resulted from a political deal that slashed a jobs program for impoverished youths by 25 percent, from \$24 million to \$18 million.

Over at the city council, meanwhile, the distinguished members were debating a proposed ordinance that would force the city's employee pension funds to sell off about \$360 million of stock in businesses connected to South Africa. I'm not aware of Young's position on divestiture, but it struck me as odd that a politician so willing to volunteer his subordinates to the ANC cause would allow them to secure their retirements on the backs of his South African brothers. But this is big-city U.S.A., and questions of ethics are never so simple here. Councilman Nicholas Hood explained the dilemma very neatly when he remarked that some of Detroit's biggest employers have ties to South Africa.

"In fact," he said, "Chrysler is one of the worst offenders. Now, do we stop buying Chrysler cars? ... It's a tough and complicated issue we need to wrestle with and solve."

At Tiger Stadium, the tough issues were being wrestled with through the rhetoric of



Detroit Mayor Coleman Young rolled out the red carpet amid the rubble.

## Detroit does Mandela: tales of hype and glory

Mayor Young, United Auto Workers President Owen Beiber, Aretha Franklin and Stevie Wonder, who sang a song. This was more sad than infuriating. The decline of Detroit's music business corresponded

**Nelson Mandela's reception in Detroit was more or less typical of the shabby state of racial politics in this country.**

roughly with the decline of the UAW and the American auto industry. When Barry Gordy moved his famous Motown Records from Detroit to Los Angeles in 1971, UAW membership stood at 1,264,000. By 1989 the union's membership had fallen to 922,000.

I suppose it was a nice gesture for Wonder to return to his musical roots for the occasion and for Mandela to show up at a Ford Motor Company plant earlier in the day. But I'm not sure how these cameos addressed Detroit's pressing problems of unemployment and gang violence. In this decaying metropolis, where teenage blacks kill each other with alarming frequency, Mandela's

message of hope seemed strangely remote and Wonder's lyrics largely irrelevant.

**No impertinent questions:** And what of Mandela and his wife, Winnie? The Detroit media, like their national counterparts, were as lavish in their praise of the couple as they were in their coverage (on one TV station Rev. Jesse Jackson provided the commentary). No one bothered to ask any impertinent questions about black-against-black violence in South Africa, or Winnie Mandela's alleged role last year in the apparently political murder of 14-year-old Stompie Mokhele in Soweto, or in two earlier killings allegedly carried out by her bodyguards. No one, that is, except a black South African reporter on sabbatical at the *Detroit News*. Well toward the back of the next day's paper, Themba Molefe, a senior political reporter for the *Sowetan*, complained about America's hero worship of Mandela and the "false" assumption that he represents the majority of black South

Africans.

"I fail to understand why U.S. foreign correspondents based in Johannesburg neglected or failed to tell their country the real story of black disunity, of bombs being hurled into people's homes while they and their children sleep because of intolerance of each other's political affiliations," Molefe wrote. "Why is it not being said in the United States that the ANC is one of three mainstream liberation movements in South Africa? ... Members of these three mainstream groups are the focus of one of the most scandalous examples of interorganization violence in black history, and Mandela and my colleagues know about it."

Molefe will have much to teach his colleagues during his fellowship in Detroit and much to learn about the cynicism of American politicians, both black and white, and the ignorance of the U.S. press. Mandela's reception in Detroit was more or less typical of this country's shabby racial politics, which are usually phony and nearly always aimed at diverting attention from the actual problems at hand.

Mayor David Dinkins of New York recently sponsored a candlelight ceremony in an Episcopal cathedral to promote the absurd proposition of "banning hate" in the wake of the Bensonhurst racial killing. Meanwhile, he has been cutting the police force through attrition. In Washington, D.C., congressmen who spent the last nine years gutting programs for poor children such as school-lunch subsidies and pre-kindergarten schooling have been stepping over one another to pay tribute to Mandela's "freedom struggle" and in effect presenting him as a figure to be emulated by black American youth.

**Other brothers:** On the night of the Mandela rally, at my hotel in the very white suburb of Troy (much of the business that is datelined Detroit actually takes place outside the city), a couple of hundred pre-weekend revelers were listening to the crashing chords of a white rock'n'roll band called "The Blues Other Brothers." Their name is a play on the annoying John Belushi-Dan Akroyd parody of an R&B band called "The Blues Brothers," which was briefly popular before Belushi died of a drug overdose. I counted one black face in the crowd and no references to Nelson Mandela's historic visit. The next day I asked a young white woman who works in Troy if she had been to Tiger Stadium, knowing of course that she hadn't.

"It must have been interesting," she said uncomfortably, and we quickly moved on to other subjects.

Exaggerated symbolic gestures have always had special currency in American politics, and the Mandela tour has been no exception. But the world is changing rapidly, as Mandela knows well, and I think it's unlikely that loud rhetoric will placate black America any longer than it will the angry followers of the ANC.

John R. MacArthur is publisher of *Harper's*.

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By William Gibson

**R**IGHT ACROSS THE STREET FROM Disneyland are the towering hotels and meeting halls of the Anaheim Convention Center. And in June, some 20,000 members of the National Rifle Association made their way there for the NRA's annual convention.

Times have been volatile for the riflemen. In February 1989, Patrick Purdy killed five Asian-American schoolchildren and wounded 29 others in Stockton Calif., with a semi-automatic version of an AK-47 military rifle. His action ignited the gun-control debate again.

Following the massacre, the Bush administration banned imports of foreign-made semi-automatic "assault" rifles. Several states passed new gun-control laws. California, for example, enacted legislation that ended future sales of many semi-automatic rifles and required registration of existing weapons. The gun-control laws passed in 1989-90 were the first major defeats for the politically powerful NRA in a long time.

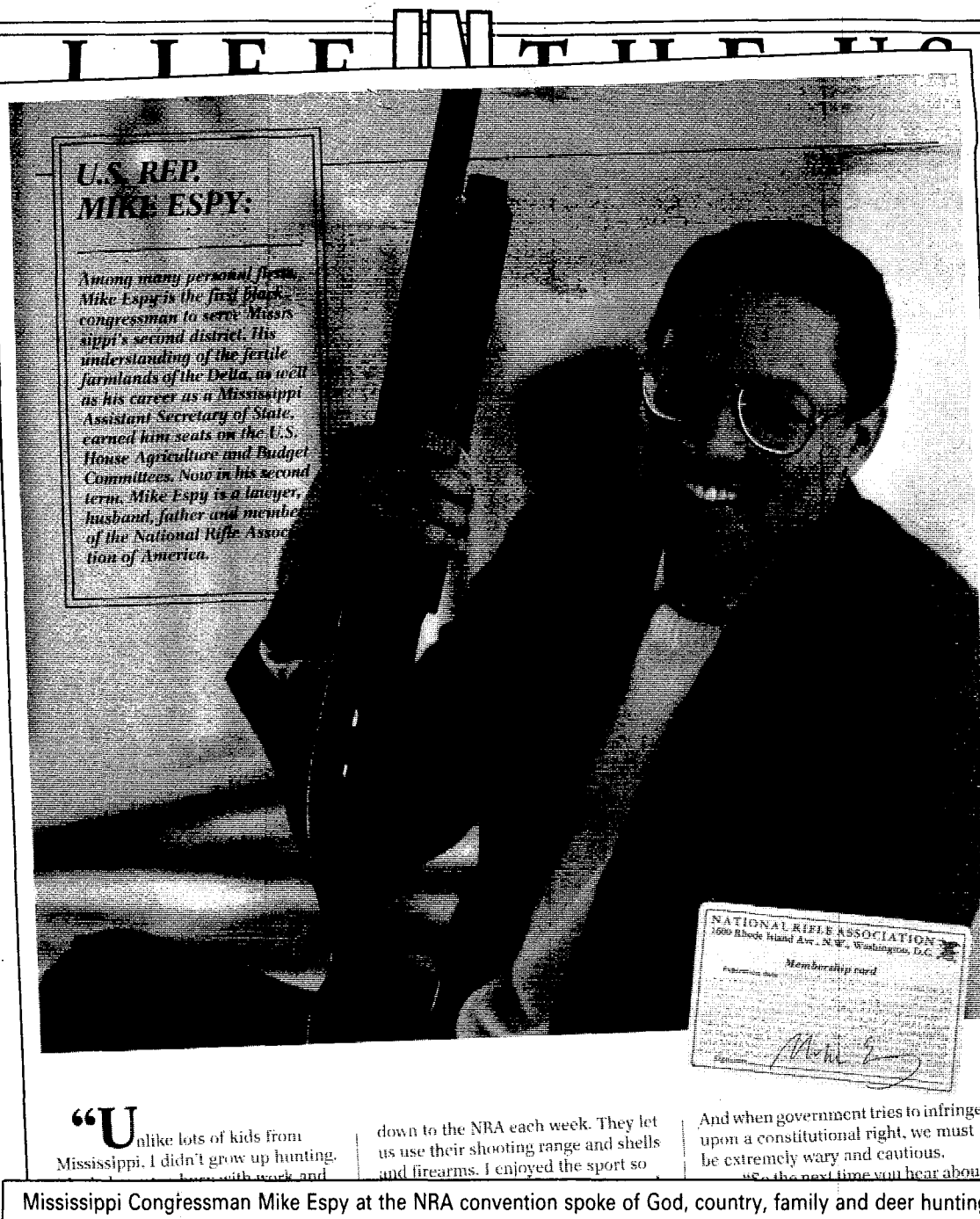
So who is the NRA? For the most part, the NRA attracts the white working class, men who are truck drivers, machinists and factory workers. Joining them are sprinklings of farmers, small businessmen and independent professionals—in other words, the old petty bourgeoisie. These two groups seem to dominate the 2.7-million-member organization.

**Populist potpourri:** And they are very angry people. Virtually every one I talked with at the convention spoke of deep distrust and contempt for federal and state governments. As one leader of the California Rifle and Pistol Association (an NRA state affiliate) said, "How can you get elected 32 times and not be crooked?" Many advocated limiting senators to two terms and representatives to three in an effort to regain democratic control.

Some NRA members, especially the European emigrés who left Europe either immediately or after World War II, saw signs of fascism in the present political climate. "The police are given too much power," one of them complained. "They beat up the poor blacks. They beat up the Mexicans.... It's uncalled for.... That's the beginning of fascism, when the police are out of control."

Emigrés and other members showed great concern about the rise of the national debt, the government's continual budget deficits and the looting of the savings and loans. In their analysis, fiscal insolvency will lead to economic collapse, which would result in a dictatorial regime coming to power.

If the world is truly in great crisis and social order is vanishing, then, according to this line of reasoning, Americans must be prepared to defend their lives and property with firearms. Yet this position seemingly



"Unlike lots of kids from Mississippi, I didn't grow up hunting.

down to the NRA each week. They let us use their shooting range and shells and firearms. I enjoyed the sport so

And when government tries to infringe upon a constitutional right, we must be extremely wary and cautious.

Mississippi Congressman Mike Espy at the NRA convention spoke of God, country, family and deer hunting.

## Another side of populism on display at NRA convention

implies that some form of gun control, such as waiting periods and certification of basic competence, would be politically acceptable. But few NRA members see limited regulation that way. They view every attempt at regulation as "one more step" down the road to state confiscation of all guns.

When convention-goers were asked why some politicians wanted extensive gun control, two answers emerged. Many saw gun control as part of the "politics of revenge." Since liberals have been taking a beating from conservatives for the past decade and gun owners tend to be conservative, passing laws regulating guns is a way of denigrating conservatives. As one California gun activist said, "They [liberals] are telling me in no uncertain terms that I am the scum of the earth." In his view, upper-middle-class liberals who supported gun control were showing their moral contempt for the white working class.

**Mike Espy is the NRA:** The second analysis of why gun control surfaced in 1989-90 was best articulated by Rep. Mike Espy (D-MS). Espy, the first black representative elected from Mississippi since Reconstruction, gave the keynote address at the

members banquet. He likened politicians' interest in gun control to Henry Cabot Lodge's comment to

### GUNS

Theodore Roosevelt during the great railroad strike at the turn of the century. Lodge asked Roosevelt, "Isn't there something we can appear to be doing?"

"In politics," Espy said, "perception is reality," and the gun-control issue gave politicians a way to appear to be doing something about crime. Many NRA members at the convention voiced this idea, and it cannot be easily dismissed. It is unlikely that the federal ban on importing some military rifles and the new state laws banning certain weapons will affect crime rates.

Current reports from California

**The fears of NRA members are reminders of the volatile political situation.**

and Florida show that foreign and domestic models of military-style guns are used in at most 2 to 3 percent of gun crimes. Even if some banned models become hard to find on the black market, substitutes can be readily found. Uzi and AK-47 carbines are particularly nasty looking—and this bad-ass image is central to their popularity. But millions of plain-looking hunting rifles and "obsolete" World War II military rifles, pistols and shotguns are still powerful weapons that can be loaded and fired quickly with a little practice. The NRA riflemen fear that once the ban on "nasty-looking" guns is recognized as a failure, gun-control advocates will turn to more ordinary firearms.

Instead of gun control, NRA members want harsher punishment for crimes. Many were quick to point out that mass murderer Patrick Purdy had a record of prior felony arrests that had been plea-bargained down to misdemeanors. In their assessment, plea bargaining and other "lenient" practices, such as early release from prison and parole, should be either reduced or completely stopped.

At the convention, Judge Ellen J. Morphonios of Florida's 11th Judicial

Circuit received a standing ovation from the 350 members gathered to hear her talk when she said, "The only effective way to stop crime is to stop the criminal who commits the crime, and if he commits crime repeatedly, then stop him permanently." Besides greater use of the death penalty, Morphonios declared, "It's our duty to build prisons."

**Brother's keeper:** Only Rep. Espy ventured the idea that "poverty breeds despair and frustration." In his brilliant speech, Espy started out affirming his commitment to God, family, country, the South, the Second Amendment and deer hunting. He then castigated the more strident gun-control advocates. Having shown the all-white audience that he was one of them, Espy went on to say that besides belonging to the NRA he was also a card-carrying member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Besides believing in the Second Amendment he also believed in the 14th and 15th amendments.

And finally, he gently asked the NRA to "renew our commitment to be our brother's keeper." The NRA needed to "broaden our aim to find solutions to problems of our nation." These problems included illiteracy, poor schools, unemployment and other "frustrations that cause violence." Espy argued that if the NRA had a more progressive social agenda, it would "create allies, not adversaries." He received a standing ovation from the 1,000 or so members attending the banquet. It's impossible to say, however, if they were simply being polite or if many genuinely agreed.

What is certain is that the NRA is preparing several different outreach programs for the '90s. A special registration desk for women asked them to fill out a long questionnaire—women are the most rapidly increasing demographic group of gun owners. In California, the NRA is launching "Operation Golden Bear," a million-dollar voter-registration effort. In the fall the organization will start testing a satellite television system with four hours of programming a week.

There are important lessons to learn from the riflemen. First, the NRA members demonstrated the value of hanging together in the face of political adversity. Staying together seemed to give everyone a sense of strength and hope. Second, the fears of NRA members are reminders of the volatile political situation. Beneath the numbing veneer of normality and the platitudes offered by the Bush administration, people are concerned about America's future and are disgusted by politics as usual. This disenchantment may signal an openness to new ideas far greater than at any time in recent years.

**William Gibson** teaches sociology at California State University, Long Beach.



By Richard Butsch

## The Simpsons: a breath of fresh air mixed with old pollutants

**T**HE '90S FIRST CULTURAL HERO IS a sassy, animated 10-year-old named Bart from the Fox network's *The Simpsons*.

The spike-haired boy with the wise-cracks is being facsimiled on everything. College students have adopted him to advertise their parties. Bart T-shirts are more common than Ninja Turtles. He is creating a spin-off windfall rivaling *The Flintstones*.

This wisecracking pint-sized hero is played against his blue-collar cliché of a father, Homer. While Bart may at first appear refreshingly anti-authoritarian, the contrasting buffoonery of his father repeats an insidious anti-working-class theme.

Fox itself is an irreverent upstart in broadcast TV, elbowing its way into competition with ABC/NBC/CBS with the crass dialogue of *Married with Children* and the offbeat comedy of *Tracey Ullman*. *Married with Children* is too replete with sexual innuendo and sexism for most of America's television-viewing audience, but it captured the No. 6 spot in the Nielsen ratings for Los Angeles for November 1989.

Tracey Ullman's critically lauded creativity hasn't won much of an audience, but the *Ullman* show gave birth to *The Simpsons* as one-minute animated skits. In January, Fox spun *The Simpsons* off as a series and in three brief months had its first national hit, ranking 30th in the Nielsens for the 1989-90 season. (Matt Groening, the creator of the *Simpsons*, also does the syndicated cartoon *Life in Hell*.)

**Father knows less:** The much-ballyhooed *Simpsons* has added new wrinkles to the family series (the sassy son, problems of nuclear waste, etc.) much as *All in the Family*'s confrontation with bigotry brought a fresh breeze to television 20 years ago. In both cases, networks sought new, young audiences to boost ratings. *The Simpsons* is the opposite of *Father Knows Best*/*Brady Bunch*/*Cosby Show* and the hundreds of other oppressively wholesome TV families.

The *Simpsons* are refreshingly different. They are real. Homer's kids talk back, the family has money problems, pop gets fired, mom gets drunk at the company picnic, mom and pop don't know best, all of them struggle with doubt and uncertainty. In a parody of the imperfect American family audience peering into the lives of the Bradys et al., Homer peeps into other living rooms to show his own family what a good family is like. The *Simpsons* are funny and endearing; despite all their shortcomings, they love each other.

The show experiments with portraying a family struggling in the '90s and puts the sassy dialogue that has become the hallmark of the '80s sitcom into the mouths of babes. But does it have any greater significance?

*The Simpsons* is one of the rare television portrayals of working-class families. While more than 200 middle-class families have paraded across our screens in the last four decades, fewer than 20 blue-collar families have appeared, although many of these have been in hit shows: *The Life of Riley*, *The Honeymooners*, *I Remember Mama*, *The Flintstones*, *The Waltons*, *All in the Family*, *Good Times* and the new wave of *Roseanne* and *The Simpsons*. Do the *Simpsons* give us a new '90s image of the working class?

Bart is certainly a new image of the child, far different from the tame version of Dennis the Menace that made it to TV. Bart's an insubordinate and irreverent pre-adolescent, in contrast to his well-behaved, intellectual eight-year-old sister Lisa. One might consider him a miniature countercultural resister, but Bart stops short of full rebellion. When he reaches the brink, he gets nervous and backs away.

He regrets having angered the town for decapitating the city father's statue. He sasses his father but really wants to be proud of him. When his father manages to do something right for a change, Bart warns to him immediately; when his father fails, he's let down. He is, after all, only a fourth-grader and still wary of the independence that rebellion implies. He is still looking for approval from heroes, sometimes seeking it from rebellious juvenile delinquents but more often from his father.

**Hitting a Homer:** Although *The Simpsons* breaks some TV traditions, it also carries forward another, namely the negative portrayal of the working-class father. Homer brings home barely enough bacon. The children's "college fund" has only \$88.50 in it. They can't afford a new TV until Homer receives double his money back for guaranteed family therapy that fails. Homer steals his son's piggy bank to buy a beer, but there's not enough money in it. He causes a nuclear accident at the power plant where he works. When Homer succeeds, it is mostly in spite of himself.

And *The Simpsons* offers negative contrasts between father and children. The kids are smarter than Homer. Second-grader Lisa defeats her father at Scrabble; Bart consistently beats Homer in a boxing video game. The kids win all debates, while dad resorts to shouting at them. This is reminiscent of *Good Times*, *All in the Family* and, in the '50s, *The Life of Riley* and *I Remember Mama*. In all of these, the children outdistance the blue-collar father. At best, father is benign but inferior; at worst, an

embarrassment.

Mothers also traditionally best the fathers in these "working-class" series. In *Riley*, *The Honeymooners*, *The Flintstones*, *Mama* and *Good Times*, it is mother, not father, who knows best. Peg, Alice and Wilma are more middle-class mothers to

### TELEVISION

their childish working-class husbands than they are working-class wives. Mama and Florida are the strengths of their families. Even "dingbat" Edith of *All in the Family* and Marge in *The Simpsons* are made to seem more sensible than their husbands.

This image of the working class contrasts sharply to television's middle-class families. Middle-class fathers have seldom been portrayed as buffoons. George Jefferson is the rare middle-class buffoon, and he's

### The Simpsons is one of TV's rare working-class families.

"coincidentally" black. When a middle-class series uses the fool as a source of humor, it is usually the wife who is the dizzy one and the husband the mature, sensible one. (*I Love Lucy* reversed the roles of *Riley* and *The Honeymooners*.)

In most middle-class series, from *Father Knows Best* to *The Cosby Show*, the parents are a superb team. They are superparents. The superparent syndrome softened a bit in the '70s and '80s—a number of shows, such as *Bob Newhart* in the '70s, gently poked fun at professionals, and the father in *Just the Ten of Us* is a little inept—but these men are not buffoons on the scale of Archie Bunker or Homer Simpson. Contrast, for example, the working-class black family in *Family Matters* to the doctor's family in *The Cosby Show*.

The image of the bungling working-class man has been repeated for decades by radio, movies and TV (and implicit in our educational system). Pervasive repetition has a persuasive effect. However audiences interpret the "text" of *The Simpsons*, this degradation of the working class is inscribed not only here but across the culture. Any alternative interpretations must work against that theme.

**The Roseanne difference:** A very notable but lonely exception to the class inferiority tradition is *Roseanne*, the top-rated show of 1989-90.

*Roseanne* is another of the sassy sitcoms, but here the parents are the witty ones, more like *The Cosby Show*. (Carsey-Werner produces both shows.)

The break with tradition is Dan Conners, Roseanne's husband, who is not merely well-meaning and loving but also sensible and mature. He is only the second blue-collar TV father (after John Walton, but the Waltons were also on the fast track of upward mobility) who has the respect of his children. Like the *Simpsons*, the Conners are "real." They deal with occupational health, workplace layoffs and the unintelligible instructions of IRS forms.

But as with *The Cosby Show*, both parents are mature and sensible. In one episode, Dan is the voice of wisdom in advising Roseanne not to engage in a power struggle with teenage Becky. Whereas Lisa and Bart Simpson are disappointed in Homer, the Conners' children are awed by their parents' stories of the '60s and taken in by the little pranks the parents pull on their kids. Dan and Roseanne are heroes to their children. Sure, they could use more money, but they are content in their working-class culture. Unfortunately, this is only one show against the tide. But at least the mainstream is publicly acknowledging that maybe members of the working class aren't all buffoons. ■

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Richard Butsch's recent book, *For Fun and Profit*, is about the commercialization of leisure.



The cartoon family that's more "real" than most TV clans.





## Warpaths: The Politics of Partition

By Robert Schaeffer  
Hill and Wang, 306 pp., \$22.95

By Jon Halliday

# Partition: great divides provide double difficulties

**B**ANKS HOPE YEMEN UNITY WILL speed loan repayment," read a headline in the London *Financial Times* at the end of May. As the Cold War winds down, the world is confronted with the unexpected spectacle of both an end to partition in some countries (Germany and Yemen already, perhaps Korea next) and the possible breakup of existing states along nationalist lines (the USSR, perhaps Yugoslavia and others). Robert Schaeffer's deeply thoughtful and highly informative book is an excellent guide to the underlying issues—of unification as well as of partition.

The geographical sweep is broad: Ireland to China, Korea to Kashmir, Palestine to Germany, via Cyprus and Lebanon. Yet this is not a collection of case studies but a systematic comparison, drawing out the striking similarities and the specific differences. *Warpaths* is thoughtful and thought-provoking. It is also remarkable for its measured and judicious tone—which does not hide the misery, injustice and dangers brought on by partition. (Schaeffer is good on nuclear weapons and divided countries.)

**Rough-cut emerald:** As a child, I lived about three miles south of the border between Southern and Northern Ireland. I could see parti-

tion out my bedroom window. At night I used to watch the light from the fires started by German bombing and sometimes hear explosions across the border. But between me and the bombing there was an invis-

## NATIONALISM

ible line: the South was neutral. On weekends we would sometimes go into the mountains to look for crashed planes south of the border. By day, I could look out the window at "the black North," as it was called by the locals.

Everyone I knew said that partition was bad. The assurance that Ireland ought to be one country went hand in hand with easy vituperation against "the black North" and its Protestant inhabitants. At the same time, people on both sides of the border made money from partition. There was a lucrative smuggling trade, and profit could be made both ways (cattle to the north, consumer goods to the south). Years later some quiet burgher would be pointed out to me as "having done well in the war." I do not remember partition often being discussed with regard to the war. Few said, "If the North was part of a united Ireland, it would not be in the war," or, "We

[the Irish Republic] should be fighting the Germans."

Schaeffer has many interesting things to say about Ireland, which was in many ways the "model" for many later partitions. Britain reneged on its commitment to allow a referendum in Ireland; India did the same over Kashmir. On visits to both North and South Korea I have noticed that my Irish background can go quite a long way, especially after a few drinks.

Ireland, like Korea (and a country like Yugoslavia), raises important issues of grievance and distrust. The generation before mine on the Irish side of my family had lived through "the Troubles," yet there was little sign of desire for revenge. As a child and a teenager, I never envisioned the current level of violence in the North. Different nations and cultures seem to weigh different episodes of the past (and how long ago they occurred) differently. Some concertina history as the 17th century were yesterday. For others it is what has happened within (roughly) the lifetime—which also means the death-time—of the current generation.

I have always been impressed by what happened in Nigeria after the Biafran war: after so much bloodshed and brutality, the former ene-

mies wreaked remarkably little revenge once the war ended. I have always thought the claims of the Protestants in Northern Ireland, that they might face a bloodbath if unification came, were unfounded. (The earlier claim—no longer valid—that they might be forced into a state run by benighted Catholic clerics did have some validity, though whether Member of Parliament Rev. Ian Paisley is more tolerant than the intolerant Pope John Paul II is doubtful.)

**Tolerance under fire:** Schaeffer ends with some excellent observations on the issue of tolerance. He quotes a former U.S. ambassador to Burundi, who refers to that unhappy land as having a "genocide-prone culture." Schaeffer sites events in Iran and elsewhere to remind those of us who have poor memories that

**Warpaths is an excellent guide to the underlying issues of unification and partition.**

there are many people in the world who think it is perfectly all right to be cruel, even horrendously vicious, to one's foes. This attitude can also be found in parts of East Asia, on both ends of the political spectrum. As Schaeffer stresses, the issue of tolerance and respect for civil rights is central. Will the fundamentalists in Northern Yemen succeed in rolling back the freedoms won by women in Southern Yemen?

Schaeffer rightly argues that ideology is a fickle, even fragile determinant of allegiance ("the identification of a majority based on political ideology ... is fairly transient, particularly during war"); nationalism and religion (often masking sexism and other vices) are the enduring forces. The post-1989 world is likely to confirm this emphatically. Korea and China are the two potential exceptions.

These two divided nations raise numerous questions. One I would have liked to see discussed more is whether there may be benefits to partition. In the case of China, there is an argument to be made that the division (i.e., preventing Taiwan from falling to the Communists), however base the motives at the time, had a number of beneficial effects: it saved 20 million people from suffering under Mao Zedong's demented dictatorship, allowing them a much higher standard of living and much greater freedoms. It also kept alive a Chinese alternative (the USSR had no Taiwan, Hong Kong or "overseas Russians" to speak of—and is the poorer thereby). There was absolutely no chance of this by any means other than partition.

The quality of Schaeffer's book is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that it is not one iota outdated by the huge changes that have taken place subsequent to its completion. Very much the opposite is true; the underlying themes are still highly relevant, even as Germany (and Yemen) unite. It is extremely helpful on places as far apart as Lebanon and New Caledonia. It is also timely in the principles it raises but does not address specifically, for example, the breakup of the USSR.

Partition was a malign move by stronger powers earlier in history. It was sometimes a punishment. It was always unjust. But history moves on, and so must political movements and their leaders. Schaeffer's points about the centrality of democracy tie into the core of the issue. China and Korea were divided by outside forces, but it is notable that neither Deng Xiaoping nor Kim Il Sung has grounded his case for a united China or Korea on a democratic basis. This book will remain relevant as long as any country on the globe is still divided.

**Jon Halliday** is a London-based television executive and writer specializing in East Asia. His latest book is *Korea: The Unknown War* (Pantheon, 1988).



**The Politics of Rich and Poor: Wealth and the American Electorate in the Reagan Aftermath**

By Kevin Phillips  
Random House, 288 pp., \$19.95

By Bruce Fisher

# Reagan's reverse Robin Hoods



every Harvard professor who warns about the destructiveness of supply side, there's another available to say that the \$3 trillion national debt and this year's \$190-billion-plus deficit just don't matter. The *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page continues to thump the tub for Reaganism, and its message is echoed in every business section, financial advice column and radio show in the land.

When Gephardt refused to pull the tax trigger at the March press conference, he demonstrated the electoral

fifth "conceivably cast almost 30 percent of the total presidential ballots in Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide, and people in the top two income quintiles together probably accounted for over 50 percent of the turnout—and with a disproportionately Republican effect."

Thus the Gephardts hesitate. The natural constituency for economic populism isn't voting and so isn't being addressed.

But that, Phillips argues, is soon to change. As a Republican, he can't be accused of wishful thinking. He sees cycles of boom-time capitalist heydays followed by progressive/populist reactions, and the historiography of cycles has been respectable at least since Giambattista Vico. In the 1890s and the 1920s, voters stewed in sectoral discontent until a shift in political discourse became possible. Phillips is entertainingly persuasive that we're approaching that shift again.

But things aren't so simple as all that. Phillips' lists of multi-, deca- and centi-millionaires provoke outrage, but it's hard to believe that the money culture's grip on us will relax without an economic cataclysm.

Richard Nixon, who employed the "Sun belt" strategy that Phillips advanced in his 1967 *The Emerging Republican Majority*, has had good things to say about *The Politics of Rich and Poor*. So has Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York. "Phillips says convincingly what Democrats have not been bold enough to say and Republicans won't admit: we have redistributed our wealth from the poor and the working middle class to the rich," writes Cuomo in the jacket blurb. "We have compromised our fiscal integrity and risked our world position. Phillips says that the people will compel what the politicians have failed to do. I hope he's right."

One wonders whether Gov. Cuomo will say what he would do about wealth transfer, fiscal integrity and America's world position—and make some real news.

**Bruce Fisher**, who has been a speechwriter and spokesman for Democratic House, Senate and presidential candidates, is research director at Citizens for Tax Justice in Washington, D.C.

## A Republican analyst sees populist sea change in economics and political attitudes.

power of the elites for whom finance, law, real estate and other non-productive activities have meant enrichment, and he revealed the disempowerment of farmers, unionized workers, the elderly poor, racial minorities and the moderate-income family. The latter are voting less and less, while the former are growing in political strength.

Phillips knows this. He cites Texas populist Jim Hightower's assertion that the greatest number of electoral dropouts are people making less than \$25,000 a year. It doesn't take a degree in sociology to figure out that these people are telling us they don't see much improvement in their lives from the economic policies of either major party. If you talk with the non-voters in any town in America, the most common sentiment you'll hear is that there is not a dime's worth of difference, to borrow George Wallace's phrase, in the two parties: "The rich just get richer, and the rest get taken."

**Republican distortion:** With just 53 percent of the voting-age population casting ballots in the 1984 presidential election and 50 percent in 1988, the well-to-do were overrepresented. Phillips estimates that those with incomes in the top

stage a populist revolt, just as they did in reaction to the excesses of the Gilded Age and of the Coolidge-Hoover boom.

Can he be right?

Maybe. Recall the last 10 days of Michael Dukakis' 1988 campaign. Phillips cites Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater's post-election admission that his camp was relieved when Dukakis eschewed economic populism, embracing "us vs. them" only when it was too late to make a difference.

"The way to win a presidential race against Republicans is to develop the class warfare issue, as Dukakis did at the end, to divide up the haves and the have-nots and to try to reinvigorate the New Deal coalition and to attack," Atwater told the *Boston Globe*.

But don't hold your breath. Phillips points out that Dukakis' "unwillingness to indict Republican boom economics was not a personal preference; it was an old party tradition."

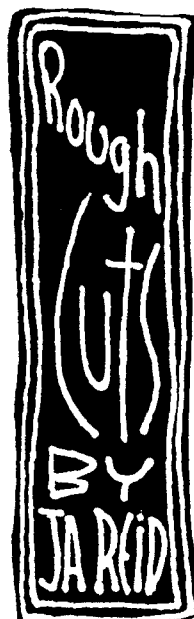
Indeed. A party that relies on lawyers, real-estate tycoons and financiers for its money cannot be expected to do more than a facade of populism. And given the pattern Democrats set in William McKinley's 1890s and Calvin Coolidge's 1920s, it is hard to argue with Phillips' assertion that "when wealth is in fashion, national Democrats have gone along."

**Upwardly ignoble:** Campaign finance makes it hard for would-be congressional populists to emerge, but so does a widespread intellectual confusion. Harvard economist Benjamin Friedman's 1988 *Day of Reckoning* was a cogent analysis of how Reagan's borrow-and-spend

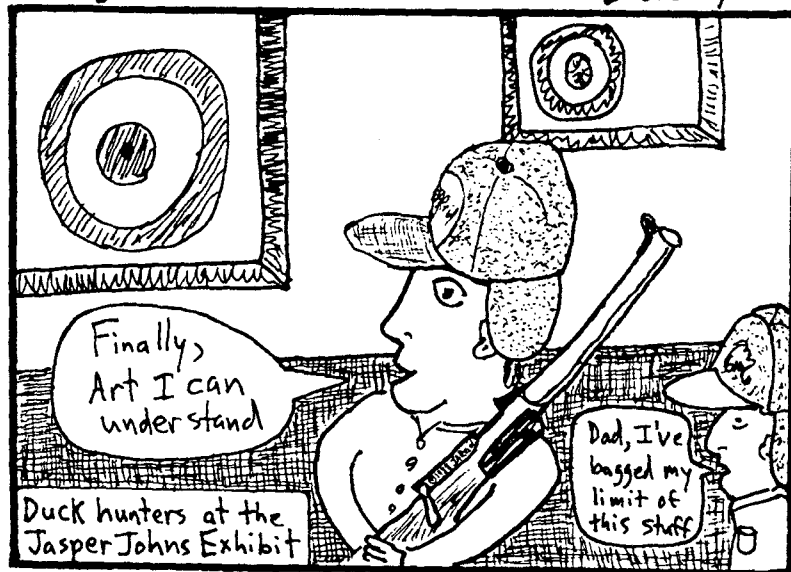
policies threatened to undermine American economic independence and prospects. But Friedman finished his tome by blaming everybody for overconsumption, demanding more taxes from those with the least ability to pay rather than distinguishing those whom Reagan's policies had enriched from the hard-pressed majority.

And some liberals have simply become \$60,000-a-year millionaires. In his recent *New Republic* essay, "For a New Equality," Mickey Kaus endorsed Dukakis-style civic liberalism but condemned downward economic redistribution, shrugging off all the data on how Reagan-era tax and fiscal policies redistribute income upward.

Such disarray makes economic populism—even in the face of a serious decline in U.S. economic power—a hard political sell except to the already converted. And for



## Arty Fax



a few crumbs to the near-rich but left fully 90 percent of American families paying more of their incomes in federal taxes than they would have had supply-side not been enacted.

The numbers are ugly and getting worse. The nation's richest million or so families have seen their average after-tax incomes more than double, from about \$190,000 in 1977 to almost \$400,000, while median-income families have seen their after-tax incomes decline 7 percent. The working poor have fared even worse. Real after-tax income for families making \$16,000 in 1990 has dropped 10 percent since 1977—for those making under \$7,000, it has dropped 14 percent.

The litany is familiar. So was the Democrats' response. "Nobody here is talking about raising any taxes," Gephardt told several dozen reporters who packed the room. At that, notebooks snapped shut and television lights flicked off. There was no story.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) made the news for a while with his proposal to cut the Social Security payroll tax, but his complaint that median family income has not risen since 1970 is just another number. Congressional Joint Economic Committee Chairman Rep. David Obey (D-WI) made news for a while in 1986 with his finding that while some incomes were rising among the financial and service sectors in the Washington-Boston and Los Angeles-Seattle corridors, the decline of agriculture and heavy manufacturing in the heartland had created a "bicoastal economy."

**Old news is new news:** Now comes Kevin Phillips, the Republican commentator who argues that the McIntyres, Moynihans and Obeyes are not only correct about Reaganism's polarization of income and wealth but that the electorate is ready to hear the Gephardts say that it's time to do something about it.

Phillips' *The Politics of Rich and Poor* predicts that hard-pressed middle-income voters will soon



# Spunky stories

Continued from page 24

doors in an attempt to define himself."

**The Colored Museum:** Some years later, Wolfe's award-winning *The Colored Museum* showed a whole exhibition hall full of African-American characters passing through other kinds of doors, one emerging as an exotic black chanteuse adored by the French while ignored in the States; another as a corporate buppie "rationally" suffocating his younger, more militant self. Perhaps the most arresting is Miss Roj, a wickedly funny transvestite who may be the best embodiment of the oppressed person's fantasies of retribution since Brecht's Pirate Jenny: Miss Roj warns that "every time I snap [my fingers], I steal one beat of your heart. So if you find yourself gasping for air in the middle of the night, chances are you fucked with Miss Roj and she didn't like it."

The genius of Miss Roj, explains Wolfe, "is a story someone told me about this Puerto Rican drag queen riding the subway. Someone just getting off the train turned around and called him a faggot. So the drag queen pulled the emergency stop, climbed out the window and pulled a knife on the guy. He never stabbed him—he just held him hostage while he set him straight."

Less commanding than Miss Roj but just as affecting is a guileless country girl named Normal Jean, poor and plain enough to be ignored and neglected until the day she lays a large, gleaming egg. "I just sort of tripped into this character. Normal Jean didn't have the ability to view pain and horror as pain and horror. She was too aware of what was coming from it. And yet from the mundane

springs the extraordinary."

And so it is in the lives of the characters in *Spunk*—from their ordinary, endless spirals of labors and betrayals emerge a sweetness and humor alchemized from the salt of tears and sweat. Zora Neale Hurston may be just beginning her larger life on the American

stage. Was the Lincoln Center spurred to its upcoming production of Hurston's *Mule Bone* in August by Wolfe's enterprising *Spunk*? Not at all, he answers. "It's just her time. Black American culture is going through an awakening that's very exciting. A lot of previously unspoken truths are now

being spoken. I think she's one of the unspoken truths.

"Zora's a storyteller. And good theater is good storytelling."

Margaret Spillane writes on theater for *In These Times*.

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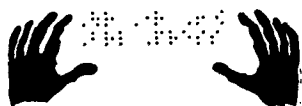
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By Margaret Spillane

**T**HE IRISH FARMER/POET Patrick Kavanagh once said that "all true poems laugh inwardly/ Out of grief-born intensity." The poetry at the heart of Zora Neale Hurston's short stories—about African-American country people either making their way in the Deep South or transplanted to Harlem—is all about that core of laughter, that gleeful defiant voice that emerges out of the weight of enormous pain.

Playwright George C. Wolfe has made riotously funny theater out of unsparing examination of the centuries-old burden of suffering borne by African-Americans. Four years ago his play *The Colored Museum* offered a tour around various cultural artifacts excavated from more than 350 years of black experience in the Western world. Many people were offended by Wolfe's gleeful stripping away of the pieties that have grown up like ivy around such icons as Lorraine Hansberry and Ntozake Shange.

Such a nose for trouble may have predisposed Wolfe to the work he's done of bringing three of Hurston's short stories to the stage. *Spunk*, which began as a cabaret in California last spring and became a full-blown production at Crossroads Theater in New Brunswick, N.J., last fall, is currently exhilarating audiences at New York's Public Theatre with its story-theater simple staging and its wealth of blues music. In her lifetime, Hurston was excoriated by writers such as Richard Wright for what were considered retrograde depictions of black experience. "At that time," explains Wolfe, "black Americans were trying to prove their legitimacy. I think she may have been an embarrassment, because she was so comfortable being colored."

**SOUTHERN MAJESTY:** What the era's black literary figures considered Hurston's hewing to the stereotypes of minstrelsy demonstrated not her artistic limitations but their own fears of judgment. Hurston didn't care what she looked like to the "legitimizing" eyes of white people. "She understood the elegance of black Southern culture," explains Wolfe. "She understood its majesty—extraordinarily so. Whatever figures she may or may not have cut with white people has very little to do with the breadth and depth of her work."

The three stories Wolfe selected—"Sweat," "Story in Harlem Slang" and "The Gilded Six-Bits," have a straightforwardness and clarity of line: "There's a simplicity of idea operating that camouflages complexity of feeling and emotion," which Wolfe has uncovered and exalted through stage techniques. In "Sweat," for example, a physically and emotionally abused wife survives to see her husband taste justice. "So much of what 'Sweat' is about is repressed sexual energy. That's not what the story's about, but that's what's being played—that's what I've directed."

Wolfe has suffused these African-American tales with a Japanese dramatic sensibility: "It's Noh theater, to me. I knew I wanted the blues as a mode, but also Japanese woodcuts." Noh theater, with its language of codified gestures, stately dances, spare scenery and tight focus on the gestural interplay between very few (usually two) characters, provided Wolfe with a "ritualized but simple way of stylizing the story, so that you're watching heightened human behavior—but performed with a degree of intimacy." This means that when actress Danitra Vance, as a domestic who's strolling down Lenox Avenue on her day off, tosses her hip and casts a glance sharply to one side, the shape made by the whites of her eyes is as precisely composed into the scene as the hand on her hip or the guitar chord that echoes her gesture.

It's not unusual for a gifted director to use the theater techniques of a remote culture to find the tools that allow him or her to get the "authentic" flavor of the writer's world. In the early '80s, when Ariane Mnouchkine used Japanese theater techniques to stage Shakespeare, critics marveled at the genuine Elizabethan textures she created.

Wolfe performed his Japanese overlays with the same respect for Hurston's intentions that would be brought to a contemporary restoration of a master painting: a significant portion of his appropriation consisted of determining "which voice saying what line implies tension and which voice does not—things like that. So as opposed to me imposing my rhythms onto it, this allowed me to keep Zora's rhythms and just figure out how to transport them theatrically."

Zora Neale Hurston's stories take the stage in director George C. Wolfe's *Spunk*.

# II TOWN

Martina Swope



Chic Street Man and Ann Duquesnay in a scene from *Spunk*, George C. Wolfe's adaptation of three Zora Neale Hurston stories.

"I had to cultivate Zora-type muscles inside of my emotional makeup. Her characters have a gentleness that is startling to me. I needed to live around that and get to know that. There were so many times when I wanted my rhythm, my edge, to come out—and it couldn't! I still feel as though my voice is present in this piece, but I view it as more a learning experience than a personal-expression experience."

But beautiful technique would be just an ornament without compelling characters. The three stories in *Spunk*—two set in the rural South and one in Harlem—give rich expression to the prickly antagonisms between women and men. In "Sweat," the sinuous evils nesting like snakes in the mind of a rural husband finish him off but end up sparing his much-abused wife. In "Story in Harlem Slang," two sharp-dressing street geniuses twist themselves into pretzels trying to wear each other down with braggadocio, then compete for the privilege of trying to separate a quick-witted young woman from her money. In "The Gilded Six-Bits," the sweet, sharp appetite that a newly married couple display for each other is suddenly damaged when an out-of-towner tempts the young bride with his wealth.

A tight ensemble of four actors—Danitra Vance, Kevin Jackson, Reggie Montgomery and K. Todd Freeman—plays all the parts, each performer aiming for an overall texture of rhythms and gestures. "Sometimes," says Wolfe, "someone would say to me, 'I think I should say this, but I shouldn't say that.' And we'd argue about it for a while until we figured out where the voice belonged. We were busy figuring out how to physicalize these things, how to maintain them as they are and still make them theatrically compelling."

**THE RAW AND THE COOKED:** Wolfe was determined that use of the Noh techniques would not be just a foray into exoticism. "If things are just emotional, they look raw; if just stylized, they look empty. One seems so organic, the other so technical. It took the cast a long time to realize that something as stylized as this piece could still have intense emotions going on. It took them a long time to realize that they could still breathe freely inside of the stylized form."

"The actors were very frustrated; I think they felt undervalued because it meant one actor would start an emotion but somebody else would complete it. It took them a while to find their through lines, to be able to hit their marks emotion-

ally as well as technically. I don't think it was an easy experience, but they're extraordinary performers and they hung in there."

Wolfe was first compelled by Hurston's stories "about four or five years ago. I read them and was hooked; I said, 'This is theater.' I didn't know how or when they'd take shape, but I knew that it would happen—I thought at one point I might turn them into blues operas. But I just put them aside," until about a year ago when he got a call from Gordon Davidson, artistic director of the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles. "He said they had a little cabaret that they did every Sunday afternoon in a restaurant around the corner from the theater. He asked me what I'd like to do, and I said, 'Well, there are these three short stories by Zora Neale Hurston.'"

"I flew out there and worked with a wonderful troupe of actors and Chic Street Man"—the brilliant blues guitarist who, with singer Ann Duquesnay, provides *Spunk*'s music. "We rehearsed for three days and, much to my surprise, the critics came—to see actors sitting on stools before music stands, reading. And it got these rave reviews." *Spunk* ended up playing every Sunday for two months at the Taper and shortly thereafter went to the Crossroads Theater in New Brunswick, N.J., before its present incarnation at the Public, where Wolfe was recently hired as a guest director for the next year.

Wolfe's own theatrical incarnation took place in kindergarten: "Even then I would never act in plays; I would stage them. While everybody else was taking naps. I remember this girl named Paula Marshall. While she was sleeping I'd wrap a towel around her head so she'd have long hair, and she'd become Sleeping Beauty. When I was eight or nine, I decided I would become an actor so I could make enough money to open an amusement park like Disneyland."

In college, he started writing "to give myself something to direct. I wrote this play called *Up for Grabs*, a totally outrageous black identity search, set against the rhythms of a sort of 1970s vaudeville. It's about a guy named Joe Thomas who gets locked up inside a soundproof booth on the day he was born. He's fed only TV commercials and given cereal boxes to read. Then, on the day he turns 21, he's released into what he thinks is the real world but is actually this game show called "Up for Grabs." On the show, this panel of people sit back and place bets on him as he passes through four different

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